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*Rajah Brooke &
Baroness Burdett Coutts*

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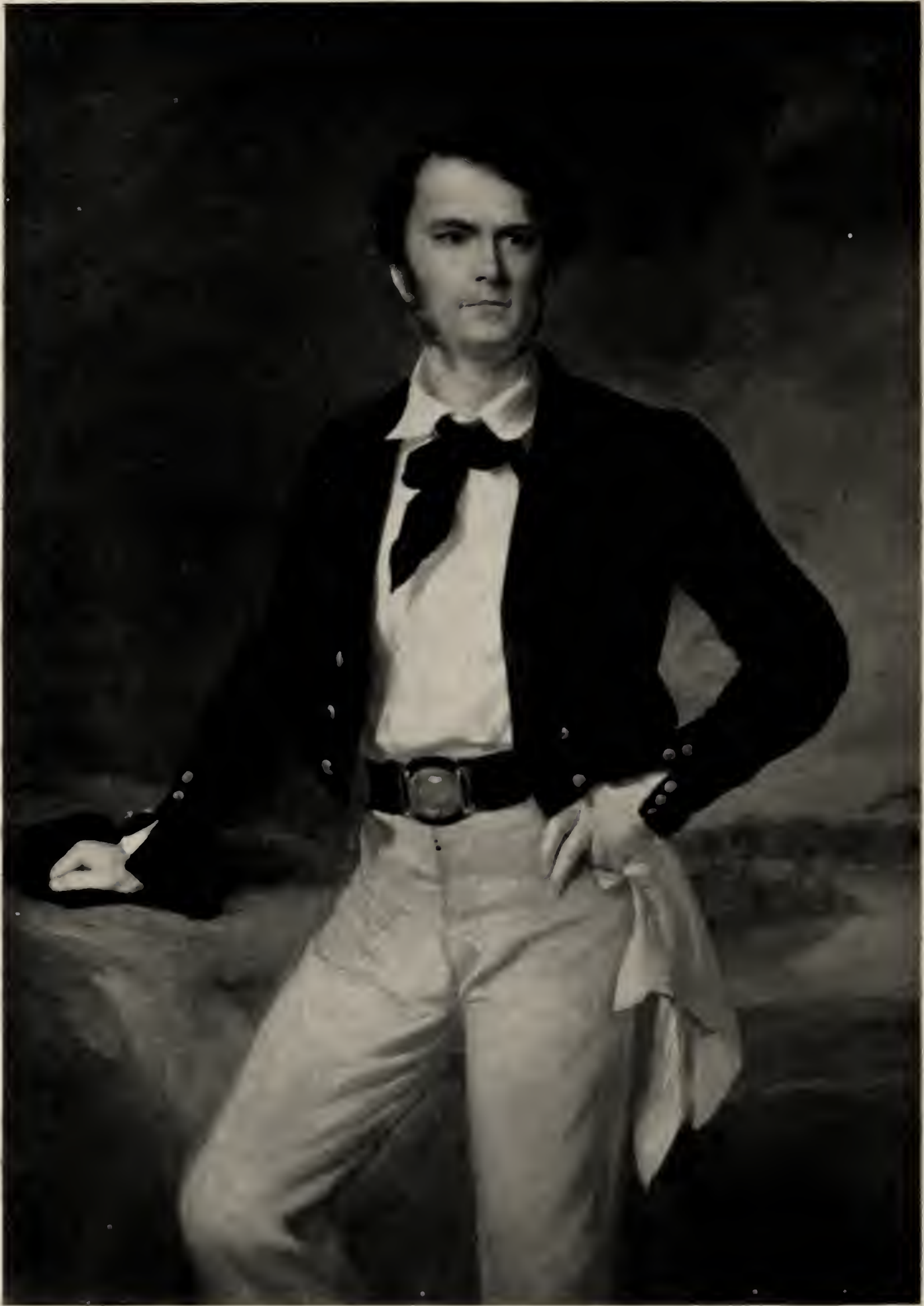
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ONE FAIR DAUGHTER



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From Grant's portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

JAMES BROOKE

*Rajah Brooke &
Baroness Burdett Coutts*

*Consisting of the Letters from
Sir James Brooke, first White Rajah
of Sarawak, to Miss Angela
(afterwards Baroness) Burdett Coutts*

*Edited, and with a
running commentary throughout, by
Owen Rutter*

*Foreword by
Her Highness the Ranee Margaret of Sarawak*

With 17 Illustrations

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1935

TO
THE DAYANG ANNE
OF SARAWAK

Foreword

ANYONE who is interested in the birth, growth and present prosperity of Sarawak, that far-off land with its southern limits on the equator and beautiful as tropical countries are in Borneo, cannot but feel grateful to Mr Owen Rutter for the absorbing volume on the subject which he is now presenting to the world. Many have told, or attempted to tell, the story of Sarawak and its alien people suffering under the oppression of semi-civilized rulers, and James Brooke has been given (and rightly so) as a model of what a noble, unselfish, brave and generous individual can achieve as the defender and liberator of such a people; but until now no one has succeeded in bringing the personality of that great man so vividly before us, the difficulties and disappointments he encountered, or in describing in detail the manner in which the deliverance of the country was effected. Until now, too, the name of one, a great lady, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, the most indefatigable helper Sarawak ever had in its early entanglements, has hardly ever been mentioned.

James Brooke—Mr Rutter calls him the St George of Borneo—after being wounded in the Burmese war, was invalided home and resigned his commission in the Indian army. Finding himself bored and restless at having nothing to do, and inheriting over £30,000 from his father, he decided to buy himself a yacht and sailed away to Singapore. While in that town he heard that antimony had been discovered in a place called Sarawak, so he re-embarked on his yacht, determined to see for himself what the prospects were in that country. So far so good. On arriving there he found the people suffering under the cruel oppression of native rulers. Then his great work began! He defended them from the piratical attacks to which they were constantly exposed, won their battles for them and imbued them with the desire to lead less turbulent and more useful lives, and they loved and trusted him and elected him their king. Thus he became the First White Rajah of Sarawak. Queer subjects they were—head-hunters, pirates and peace-loving Malays.

With the establishment of his kingdom, however, many difficulties arose. Anxious to safeguard the new-won rights of his people James Brooke applied to England for protection, but without success. No money was forthcoming, a very necessary adjunct for any country wherever situated. When on a short visit to England, in a moment of great depression, he met Miss Burdett Coutts, a lady famous for her charity and benevolence in the cause of mankind. To her he confided his hopes and strivings for the welfare of Sarawak and she, recognizing the nobility and worth of the great task he had set himself, became his greatest friend and helper. Sparing herself no trouble to further their object she interviewed Big Wigs in the Government, interceded on his behalf and it was due to her efforts that the Recognition of Sarawak was gained in James Brooke's lifetime. He was grateful exceedingly to his devoted friend whom he christened his "Guardian Angel."

Yet odd things happen and maybe gratitude is not an inborn virtue in the human race. Having lived seventeen years in my beloved Sarawak and being able to judge of the safety, comfort and prosperity in which its dear people now live, and knowing, as I do, the great part Baroness Burdett-Coutts played as James Brooke's helper in his noble achievement, I have often wondered how it came to pass that her name has been so little mentioned hitherto in any literature dealing with the foundation of the country. It is a wonderful story.

With the third Rajah, Vyner Brooke, now sitting on his yellow throne—for yellow is our royal colour—and looking round on the smiling faces of his subjects one might almost squeeze in, just for a second, the excellence of James Brooke's successors in the ruling of their people, one of whom was my husband, t'other being my son—though indeed with such an example they were bound to succeed. "But that" (to quote Kipling) "is another story." So I will leave it there.

To return to Mr Rutter. He had a most happy inspiration in compiling his present work. Nothing so interesting or so comprehensive about Sarawak has yet appeared. The short story of the First White Rajah is beautifully told. And the correspondence! How it reveals the inner workings of the great man's mind as one reads between the lines of the disappointments and sorrows caused him by near relatives who repaid his kindness, love and solicitude with the basest ingratitude. His very readiness to forget and forgive appears to have engendered occasional tiffs between himself and his two best friends, Baroness Burdett-

Coutts and Mrs Brown her companion. One of the disappointments of my life is that I never met the first Rajah Brooke; but once, in London, on the eve of my departure for Sarawak, when I was still quite young, I called on the two ladies, as I knew them and loved them, to say good-bye. The Baroness looked at me and said, "Are you a real Raneë to the people? Do you see them and love them—or do you call yourself Raneë and do nothing?" "I see them as much as I can," I answered, "and I love them very, very much. They are so good to me." "That is right and as it should be," she said, patted my hand, kissed me and I went away.

How very delightful, too, are James Brooke's letters, making one realize the happy friendship existing between the three. In them one finds allusions to pet bullfinches or the sending of a violet picked by James in a hedgerow in return for a forget-me-not received from his great friend a short while before. All so young in mind and spirit in letters so great in soul and aspirations! "St George of Borneo and his Guardian Angel." What a lovely title for the book! But there—with such a title no reader could guess what it was all about . . . and so—that's that!

Maryann
Sarawak



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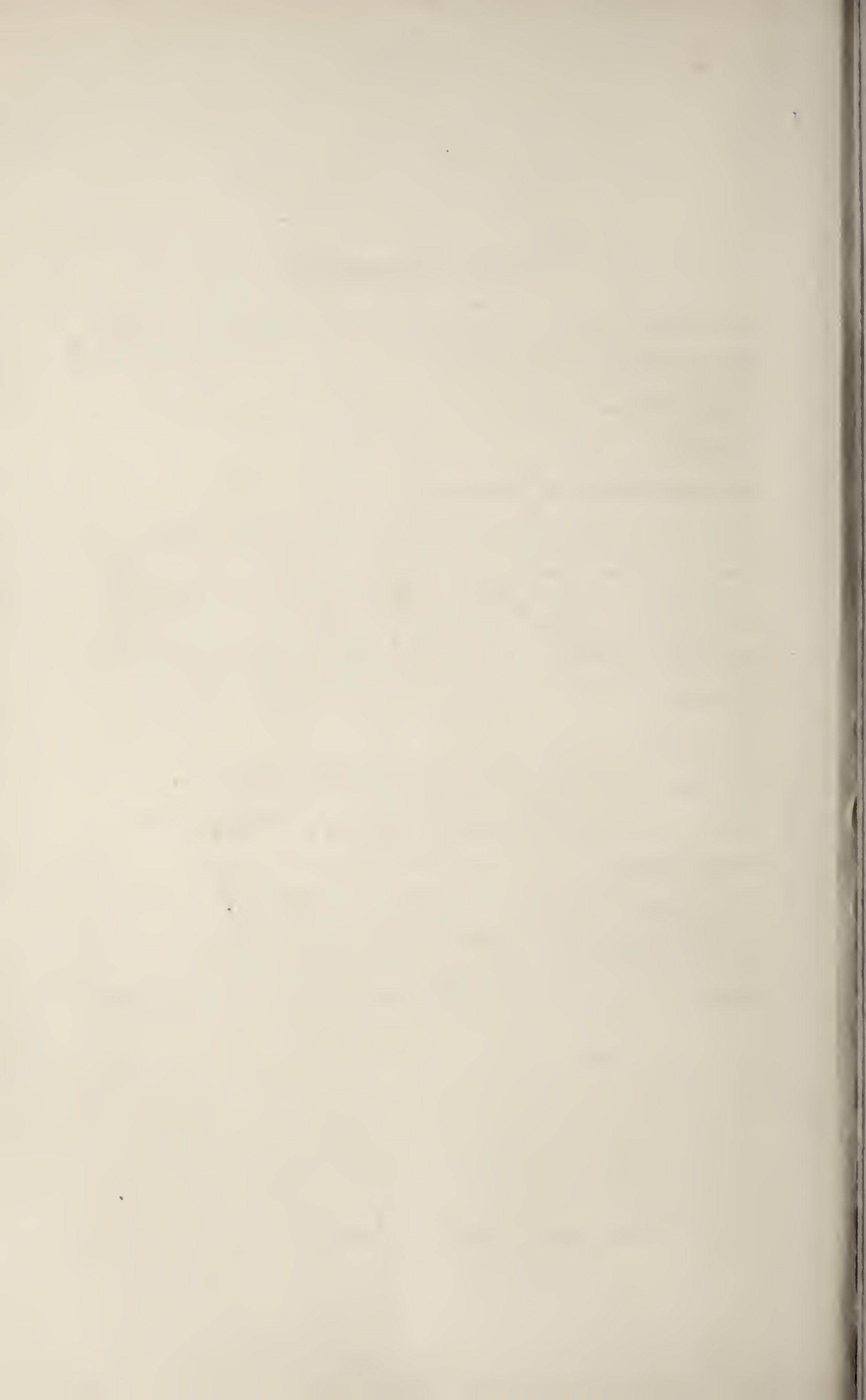
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Introduction

THE letters which are here printed for the first time reveal the story of what must surely have been the most unusual platonic friendship in history: the friendship between an Englishman who was the ruling sovereign of an independent State and a great lady, the richest woman in Great Britain, whom Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, described as "after my mother, the most remarkable woman in the Kingdom." It was a friendship which had both spiritual and practical significance, for while James Brooke returned Angela Burdett Coutts's affectionate devotion and loyalty in private life, in public affairs he deferred to her at every turn and she gave him proof of her friendship in shrewd counsel and in loans to further his work in Sarawak, nor did she spare herself in helping him to secure that political recognition from the British Government without which he feared his country could not survive.

Nowadays we are sceptical about so-called platonic friendships: and usually we are right. Seventy years ago it must have been even harder for an intimate friendship to exist between a man and a woman than it is to-day. I confess that before these letters were entrusted to me I had always scented a romance between Miss Burdett Coutts and James Brooke, partly because the Rajah's biographers had been so extraordinarily discreet in any reference they made to her. Spenser St John, who was the Rajah's contemporary, mentioned her only as "a generous friend" (without disclosing her sex) in his *Life of Sir James Brooke*, published in 1879, and twenty years later, in his *Rajah Brooke*, went but a little farther in making a passing reference to her as "a generous lady." Gertrude Jacob, in her two-volume biography, *The Raja of Sarawak* (1876), preserved a similar sexless anonymity and mentioned her by name only as a trustee of a section of the Rajah's will; while S. Baring Gould and C. A. Bampfylde made the briefest possible allusion to her by name as a benefactor of Sarawak in *A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs*.

What was the reason, I wondered, for this curious reticence on

the part of biographers who had access to essential documents and correspondence? I knew that Miss Burdett Coutts had saved Sarawak from disaster on more than one occasion. I knew that she played an important part in the Rajah's life—although how important I was not to realize until I read these letters. And I knew that he had never married, and that she had not married until late in life, years after he was dead. Here, thought I, was an unwritten Victorian love story which had been carefully screened by the propriety of contemporary writers: and doubtless rightly, since one actor in it had been still alive when St John's and Gertrude Jacob's books were published, and had been not only alive but one of the most prominent figures in English life and lately created a Baroness in her own right.

When I was planning my novel *White Rajah* some correspondence I had with the late Mr John Dill Ross, author of *Sixty Years' Travel and Adventure in the Far East*, seemed to throw light on the affair.

"James Brooke was before my time," he wrote to me, "but between him and my father there was a close intimacy. My father believed him to be one of the finest men who ever lived. There is much in his private life which is known to very few and which has never been published. He was, of course, of wonderful courage and absolute honour. In fact it was his *honesty*, in the true and full sense of the word, which ruined him. But he must have had the most wonderful tact and temper, and an extraordinary charm of manner, otherwise the Sarawak chiefs would never have made him their Rajah. He certainly made a most favourable impression on Queen Victoria and many others when he visited England in 1847. It was something to be made a K.C.B. in those days.

"It was his romance with the Baroness Burdett-Coutts which also inspires my belief in his personal charm of manner. She was a young girl then and fell madly in love with him. Brooke served with our forces operating in Burma and at the storming of Rangoon he was wounded in the genitals by a musket ball. He never married, of course. Baroness Burdett-Coutts made him a present of his first steamer and she did all she could for him. Doubtless she never understood why he did not marry her. A thousand pities, because with her vast wealth to back him he would have done a great many things in Sarawak he could not do alone, and he would have been able to defy Cobden, who killed him in the end. Lady Burdett-Coutts never married until late in life. She was true to her love for Sir James Brooke."

Actually, Brooke was wounded not at the storming of Rangoon but while leading a charge up-country against a Burmese stockade in 1825, as an ensign in the Burmese army, the slug lodging, as St John and Miss Jacob say, in the lung.¹ Such niceness is intelligible but I have reason to believe that Mr John Dill Ross's information is correct. It is important, for to me at least it explains many things in James Brooke's character besides the fact that he never married; and both the nature of his wound and the story that Miss Burdett Coutts was in love with him are traditions in the Brooke family. There is another tradition which I have not been able to authenticate, that she went so far as to propose to him by letter, and that he declined.

That is not impossible, and there may have been an early love affair between the two. But tradition is not history, and in these letters, written when both had reached maturity, there is to be found no word of love on either side. Mutual admiration for each other's qualities, gratitude for attentions and for kindness, at times frankly expressed affection: these are there, but no more. In the present age it may seem strange that in all those years of friendship neither addressed the other by Christian name; and although at one period he would subscribe himself "ever and ever yours, J. Brooke," she was, at her warmest, never more than his "very sincerely," except upon one occasion when she signed herself "Your sincere and affectionate friend."

Romantic theories, then, must have no place in this memoir. What matters is that they were friends, and that their friendship was strong enough to weather the differences they had from time to time. It is not too much to say that Angela Burdett Coutts was the best friend James Brooke ever had; and while he lived she proved herself the friend of Sarawak too. The letters make it clear that without her help the territory could not have remained under his rule and they disclose what no biographer has ever mentioned: that at one time he appointed her heir to his Raj and that she would have become Ranee of Sarawak had he died before establishing in his own family the succession to his throne.

Miss Burdett Coutts did not hesitate to use her wealth and her position to help James Brooke. Her circumstances were peculiar. She was the granddaughter of Thomas Coutts who, with his brother James, developed the banking-house of Coutts. Thomas Coutts married Elizabeth Starkey, his niece's maid. By her he had three daughters, whom he married to Sir Francis

¹ Miss Jacob mentions (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 11) that the slug, which had been allowed to remain in the wound, was finally extracted from his back near the spine.

Burdett, the Earl of Guilford and the Marquis of Bute. At the age of 74 he took as his second wife Harriet Mellon, a favourite actress of the day whom Sheridan had discovered and brought to Drury Lane. He died in 1822, leaving his widow the whole of his fortune—nearly two millions sterling, a vastly more significant sum in those times than it is now. Mrs Coutts subsequently married the Duke of St Albans, and although the Married Women's Property Act did not become law until half a century later, she contrived to keep at her own disposition the wealth she had inherited from Thomas Coutts and at her death in 1837 left the whole of it to Angela Burdett (the youngest of Sir Francis Burdett's five daughters), on condition that she assumed the name and arms of Coutts.

On the death of the Duke of St Albans in 1849 Miss Burdett Coutts (who had taken the name of Coutts¹ by royal licence in 1837) came into full possession of the property, including her grandfather's great London house, No. 1 Stratton Street, Piccadilly, and Holly Lodge, his Highgate retreat, which had been built by Sir Henry Vane Tempest and stood in fine grounds bordering the whole of the eastern side of Hill Drive, a road then avoided by prudent coachmen owing to its severe and dangerous gradients. This property has recently been converted into the Holly Lodge Estate, on which nine hundred houses have been made to stand where one stood before, while No. 1 Stratton Street was rebuilt by Mr. W. Curtis Green in 1929 and is now known as Stratton House, the ground floor being occupied by the Midland Bank and the upper floors being residential chambers.

Miss Burdett Coutts took her responsibilities very seriously. She had inherited the public spirit of her father, who was zealous in the cause of free speech and popular rights, the champion of Catholic emancipation and, as Member for Westminster, was one of the first to denounce corporal punishment in the Army. She entertained lavishly, but she did not allow her wealth to go to her head. Proposing to Miss Burdett Coutts became the fashion. There were few young men of any importance in England who did not make her an offer, but she refused them all and preferred

¹ Mr Seabury Burdett-Coutts tells me that he believes the hyphen between the two names was adopted in 1837. But it does not appear to have become the usual form of address until much later. The Rajah never used the hyphen, nor did any of the other correspondents whose letters appear in the collection. For the sake of uniformity, therefore, I have omitted the hyphen when referring to Miss Burdett Coutts and used it when referring to the Baroness.



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THOMAS COUTTS



to administer the fortune she had inherited as a trust for the welfare of humanity. Her name became a synonym for philanthropy. A recital of her good works would be tiresome now, but, unlike some who have devoted thought and money to the spiritual teaching of those in distant lands, she was not insensible to the more clamorous physical needs of the poor at home, and while she built churches and fostered missionary societies she did much to relieve suffering and unemployment in London. She would adopt a whole neighbourhood such as Bethnal Green; for years she kept a large number of poor needlewomen in constant work, and she placed hundreds of destitute boys in training ships for the Navy, and the Merchant Service. She was the first woman to take an active interest in slum clearance, and one of the most valued of her pensioners at Holly Lodge was a white donkey, the gift of the London costermongers to the lady who was their friend. Long before the days of bird sanctuaries she turned the grounds of Holly Lodge into a refuge for wild creatures, both birds and beasts. At one time she tried to acclimatize the nightingale, but abandoned the idea, not caring, as she said, "to breed them for bird fanciers;" and she was not too grand to take an interest in what she described as "the companionable and reproductive pig."¹

A contemporary of hers, William Howitt, author of *The Northern Heights of London*, called her the nursing-mother of the Church of England. "She has founded," he wrote, "the bishoprics of Adelaide, of Natal, of Columbia in the north-west of America, and built churches in Westminster and Carlisle. I suppose no other woman under the rank of a queen ever did so much for the Established Church; had she done it for the Catholic Church she would undoubtedly be canonized as St Angela. But, perhaps, the noblest and most enduring of her works, is seen in the clean and smiling hearths of hitherto too much neglected and ill-housed property."

And she was something more than a builder of churches and a distributor of alms on a grand scale: she was a woman whose views and vision were far ahead of her time, a woman of strong, even dominating character, with the power of constructive thought and with a profound compassion for the sufferings of man and beast. Neither riches alone, nor charitable acts, could

¹ *Vide Baroness Burdett-Coutts*. This sketch of the Baroness's public life and work was prepared for "the lady managers of the World's Columbian Exposition" by command of H.R.H. Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, and published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, in 1893.

have given her that remarkable position she came to hold in Victorian England. All the great men of the time crossed the threshold of No. 1 Stratton Street. Wellington was her friend, and Stanley, and Dickens; Gordon carried with him to his death a letter-case she gave him when he visited her an hour before leaving England for the last time; and there seems no doubt that she was genuinely beloved by the poor—miners, costermongers, Irish fishermen, and all those others to whose welfare she devoted not only so much of her fortune but of her thoughts. In the last century she was a figure for whom it would be hard to find a parallel in this, and in the history of England she is the only woman to be created a peeress solely in recognition of her services to humanity.

Whatever the early relationship between Miss Burdett Coutts and James Brooke may have been, it was but natural that, in his character of St George of Borneo, he should have made an immense appeal to her. He, too, was a righter of wrongs. He had the same ready sympathy for the under-dog as she had. He had set himself to deliver a whole people from tyranny and oppression. She believed that his aims were genuine and that his cause was just. Her wealth was the object of much cupidity, but although she was open-handed she was not easily taken in. In her veins ran the Scottish blood of old Thomas Coutts, which gave her shrewdness and caution. She was a sound judge of men and women and of their motives: her letters show that she was a sounder judge than James Brooke; and she believed in him when others doubted. Mankind may be divided into two great groups, the givers and the takers. She was a giver, and in James Brooke she must have seen one who was a giver too: not merely a philanthropist, but one who had devoted years of his life, as well as the whole of his fortune, to the primitive people whose adopted ruler he had become.

Not that James Brooke went to the Far East with that end in view. Young men are not like that. What he needed early in life was adventure. It was that spirit of adventure which made him run away from Norwich Grammar School. By the time he was sixteen he was back in the land of his birth, with a commission in the Bengal Army: he had been born near Benares in 1803, his father, Thomas Brooke, being an officer in the Bengal Civil Service. Six years later he was invalided to England and it was not until 1831, when he was 28, that he returned to Madras, only to find that he had exceeded the time-limit of his furlough. Being thus forced to resign his commission (without any great



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HARRIET MELLON

regret we may suppose—since the sense of personal freedom was so strong in him that the official restriction of a public service must have been irksome to his temperament) he took a passage in an East Indiaman, the *Castle Huntley*, and sailed on farther east.

In Malaya he saw lands untouched and undisciplined by Western influence, inhabited by primitive tribes. His imagination kindled at the thought of their uncharted rivers, their forests still unexplored and waiting to yield adventure and perhaps riches to those who tried them. There is no doubt that this experience left a deep impression on his mind. On his return to England he found it impossible to settle down. He longed to go back to the Far East and finally he bought a brig, the *Finlay*, and loaded her with a mixed cargo for the eastern market. The venture was not a financial success and showed him that he was not cut out for a trader. Yet after much travelling life in England galled him more than ever. As he himself said, it was “like drinking milk and water after brandy.”

Then his father died and left him £30,000. By that time his restlessness had become intolerable. He determined to go back to the Malay Archipelago and fixed on Borneo as his objective. He bought a schooner, the *Royalist*, 142 tons burden, belonging to the Royal Yacht Squadron: “my darling schooner,” as he called her, “the pride of my foolish heart and the light of my eyes,” and after a cruise in the Mediterranean to try his ship and his crew he sailed for the Eastern Seas in December, 1838.

He was 35 then. He had had to wait for his chance: but when it came, what a chance it was! He, the lover of freedom, whom the constraints of civilization had fettered for so long, was free at last, as free as any man could be: free to sail where he listed, his own master, in his own schooner with his own men.

“Could I carry my vessel to places where the keel of European ship never before ploughed the waters,” he wrote to his friend Cruickshank, who had been the surgeon of the *Castle Huntley*, “could I plant my foot where white man’s foot had never been before—could I gaze upon scenes which educated eyes had never looked on—see man in the rudest state of nature—I should be content without looking to further rewards. I can, indeed, say truly that I have no object of personal ambition, no craving for personal reward; these things sometimes flow attendant on worthy deeds or bold enterprises, but they are at best consequences, not principal objectives.”¹

¹ Quoted from Gertrude Jacob, *op. cit.*, i, 69.

The Victorians were apt to dramatize themselves and to become a trifle heroic when they put pen to paper, whereas we perhaps go to the other extreme of under-statement. Brooke was no exception to his generation. The last sentence of that letter is, to my mind, typical of the age in which he lived. He did not realize it, but he betrays the attitude of many a British statesman who, while extending British influence in countries inhabited by primitive peoples, found that rich rewards flowed attendant on bold enterprises whose principal objective was not avowedly either territory or commercial gain.

Nowadays we are less liable to self-deception than our ancestors; at least we like to think so. It may be that we are merely less easily deceived about the motives of people other than ourselves and say so frankly. But if James Brooke seems at times a trifle pompous and self-righteous in his letters—and I must admit that there are passages in those which follow that do give this impression—at least he was no hypocrite. He believed all he wrote, I am convinced of that, for the simple reason that in his life he acted up to every high principle he enunciated on paper.

So to Borneo he went, with those aims in view. The island was then scarcely known and almost entirely unexplored. The plan he had in mind was to make for Marudu Bay, in the extreme north. But a chance incident turned his course. The Rajah's biographers make no reference to it, but I have the story on the authority of the Ranee Margaret of Sarawak, who once told me that a short time before the *Royalist* reached Singapore the Governor, Mr Bonham, while out riding one morning, reined in his horse to watch a Chinese tongkong unloading ballast. The horse reared and kicked a heap of stones which the sailors had flung ashore. One of them split in two and the Governor saw the broken halves glinting in the morning sunlight. He told his orderly to pick them up, and took them back to Government House. They proved to contain antimony, and further inquiry revealed that the tongkong had come from the Sarawak River, on the western coast of Borneo.

Brooke arrived shortly afterwards, and on hearing his plans Mr Bonham told him the story of the antimony and suggested that Sarawak, then a province under the rule of the Sultan of Bruni, offered better prospects than Marudu, for, besides the possibilities of the antimony, the Sultan's governor, Rajah Muda Hassim, had lately befriended a shipwrecked British crew and displayed a humanity unusual in Malay princes. Mr Bonham

promised Brooke a personal letter to Rajah Muda Hassim and said that the Singapore Chamber of Commerce would be glad if he would take with him a present as a recognition of the services the Rajah Muda had rendered to British seamen. This gave Brooke a definite objective and to Sarawak he decided to go.

Before he sailed he provided himself with a variety of presents for Hassim and his nobles: silks of Surat, stamped velvet, scarlet cloth, gunpowder, a supply of ginger, dates and syrup, and a box of toys for Hassim's children. As the best medium for barter he took £100 worth of coarse nankeen. And, as a precaution, he added eight stout Malays to his British crew.

Rajah Muda Hassim gave him a friendly welcome when the *Royalist*, having sailed up the Sarawak River, anchored off Kuching, the capital, on August 15, 1839. His appearance was not imposing but his manners were a pattern of courtesy and he maintained a certain shabby dignity. He returned the *Royalist's* salute of 21 guns with a salute of 17 and received his visitor with some pomp in the palm-leaf shed which went by the name of audience hall. Much as Brooke detested formality and circumlocution he entered into the spirit of the game and suffered Hassim's polite inquiries after his health and stilted professions of friendship, although he longed to talk to him as man to man.

Next day Hassim returned the visit. As the title of Rajah Muda implied, he was the heir-presumptive to the Sultanate of Bruni, and whenever he left his palace he moved in state. Leading the procession were his officers, one carrying his sword in a golden scabbard, another his war-shield, a third his jewel-hilted kris. Hassim followed them, dressed in royal yellow, a turban of lilac cloth-of-gold upon his head. He was surrounded by his twelve younger brothers and escorted by a band of musicians playing barbaric melodies, while a crowd of lesser dignitaries brought up the rear, and, having reached the *Royalist*, squirted crimson betel-juice upon her spotless decks. The royal party made an inspection of the schooner, wondering at the long mirrors, took refreshment in the cabin, and then departed, slaves following with the presents Brooke had brought.

Brooke now learnt that Rajah Muda Hassim had been sent to Sarawak in an emergency. The real governor of the province was a Bruni noble named Makota, whose oppressive rule had caused the Dayaks to break out in open rebellion. The Sultan had sent the Rajah Muda to quell it. That had been four years previously, and on Brooke's arrival the hostilities against the rebels were still dragging on. Hassim negligently described

the situation as being no more than some child's play among the Sultan's subjects.

Having made a short expedition into the interior Brooke sailed away. Hassim gave him an orang-utan as a parting gift, and his last words were, "Tuan Brooke, do not forget me."

Brooke spent a year cruising in the Archipelago and then decided to return to England. But he thought he would first pay another visit to Kuching. He wanted to say good-bye to Hassim and, expecting the rebellion to be over, he hoped to see something of the country into which he had not been allowed to penetrate before. That decision changed the course of his life.

He reached Kuching again in August, 1840, to find that the Dayaks, so far from having surrendered, were fighting against Bruni rule with more passionate resistance than ever and were encamped within thirty miles of the capital.

This time the Rajah Muda received him eagerly. He no longer spoke of the war as child's play. He was frightened, and not only harassed by the approach of the rebels but encompassed by intrigues among his own nobles, led by Makota. He was longing to be done with it all, so that he could return to Bruni. In Brooke he saw the means of attaining his end. The white tuan had a fine ship, and men, and guns. Here, Hassim must have thought, was the chance to put fresh courage into his own army and to strike fear into the hearts of the rebels. He appealed to Brooke for help. Brooke promised it, and with his delight in action flung himself whole-heartedly into his friend's cause.

He had yet to learn Malay methods of making war. Hassim's army was a heterogeneous rabble of Bruni Malays, Chinese and half-loyal Dayaks. Their leaders ate Brooke's stores but neglected his counsel. He took some of the *Royalist's* guns up-country and made a breach in the rebels' fort, but even then he could not persuade Makota and his captains to attack. In vain he tried to rouse them to a definite line of action and at last, sick and tired of their procrastination, he determined to sail away.

When Hassim heard of this decision he entreated Brooke to stay. Brooke was adamant. Hassim grew desperate. He implored his friend not to desert him and offered him the province of Sarawak, its government, its revenues and its trade, if only he would stay. An appeal to Brooke's compassion never failed, but he was too big a man to accept the offer of a frightened prince.



From "The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido"

MAKOTA

He agreed to stay on condition that Hassim would give him authority to prosecute the war in his own way. If his methods were successful and if the Rajah Muda were of the same mind when the war was over, they could talk again.

Hassim was overjoyed. Brooke and his people returned to the front. There he found Pangeran Bedrudin, one of the Rajah Muda's brothers, who had joined Makota. Bedrudin was a fine type of Malay prince, eager and brave, as anxious to end the war as Brooke was, and ready to lead the army in person. With his help Brooke thwarted the dilatory methods of Makota; and the rebels, dismayed by his soldierly activity, soon asked permission to treat.

Brooke appointed a meeting-place that very night. The Dayaks agreed to surrender if Brooke would promise them their lives. He replied that he had no power to make them such a promise. The final decision rested with the Rajah Muda. But if they would surrender their fort, burn their stockades and give up their arms, he would use his influence to save their lives and would make himself responsible for their safety until the Rajah Muda's orders could arrive.

It must have been a strange scene as James Brooke and those Dayak chieftains came to terms. One can picture the clearing beside the pebbly river, lighted by torches; on the one side the Dayaks, squatting on their hunkers, naked but for their bark loin-cloths and the black and white hornbill feathers in their hair; facing them, Brooke and his white companions, the handsome Bedrudin at his side, and behind those two the Bruni nobles, in tight-fitting coats of many colours and head-dresses of cloth-of-gold, watchful for treachery and meditating it themselves.

If one needs proof of Brooke's personal magnetism, of his power of compelling confidence, one has it in that scene. For those Dayaks had never set eyes on a white man before. They had been accustomed to tyranny and misrule. Their Bruni overlords had enslaved and cheated them for generations. They had never known what it was to have confidence in a man who was not of their own race. Yet they trusted Brooke. He made them no fair promises. He told them frankly that he had no powers of life and death. But he promised them that he would do his best for them. They accepted that, and agreed to surrender on his terms.

He kept his promise, but he found it harder to gain his end than he had supposed. Although he gave orders that no one should go upstream to the Dayak forts without his leave, the

four pound sterling, and *he dare* not refuse. Another is sent in the same way, another and another, until the rapacity of the chief is satisfied, or, which is more frequently the case, the victim can no longer meet the demand. All their valuable produce is thus wrested from them, rice is taken in the same way, and to finish this list of exactions, they are called upon to labour at antimony ore, or any work too heavy to suit the lazy habits of their tyrants. When the demands of the chief have been met, the herd of petty Pangerans and worthless followers flock to the plunder of the Dyaks, and by threats, violence, and false accusations, extort what remains of their provisions until the cultivator, who supplies rice *for export*, at the end of each year has not sufficient to feed his family, and lives on raw sago, fruit, or vegetables, and too often is reduced to a state of famine as deplorable to contemplate as it is difficult effectually to relieve. I wish for the sake of humanity I could stop here, but the worst feature of cruelty yet remains to be stated. The Dyaks, reduced to starvation, sometimes are unable, sometimes refuse, to meet these multiplied demands; at other times the Malays bring some trifling accusation, and often are not at the trouble to seek any plea to justify their proceedings. The result is the same, the Dyak tribe is attacked and plundered, and their wives and children seized *and sold as slaves!*

“Such is the sad condition of the Dyak tribes: such the sufferings of an innocent and industrious race, which are scarcely to be matched in the annals of nations, and unequalled even on the coast of Guinea; for there the lot of slavery falls only on a portion of the community, whilst here it is the wanton butchery and the wholesale slavery of entire communities. I need make no further comment of my own, save that I have endeavoured to render this statement as plain and matter-of-fact as possible; and have sought instead of exaggerating, to soften the features of a most horrible picture. After residing amongst this people, and becoming intimately acquainted with their characters and many virtues, after witnessing their sufferings and patience, and very firmly convinced of the facilities with which they might be improved; after struggling for a year to protect them, and after acquiring their slowly-bestowed confidence, it cannot be a matter of surprise that I appeal in their behalf to that generosity which I am led to think aids the distressed and commiserates the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. If a case of misery ever called for help, it is here: and the act of humanity which redeems the Dyak race from their condition of unparalleled wretchedness, will open

a path for Religion and for Commerce which may in future repay the charity which ought to seek no remuneration."¹

Besides all this, the country was unsafe for peaceful trade, since the Dayaks of the interior had been headhunters from time immemorial. Nor had Brooke to think only of the troubles in his own territory, for on his borders were communities of Malay and Sea-Dayak pirates, led by half-bred Arab chiefs, while the Borneo coast was the hunting-ground of the Illanun and Balanini sea-rovers who, accustomed to cruise in squadrons of long war-boats, often 200 strong, searching for slaves and plunder, made commerce with Borneo precarious even for European ships.

The establishment of peace and order from conditions so chaotic was a task that might well have dismayed any ordinary man; but James Brooke appears to have had just those qualities which were essential for the work he had set himself to do. He had courage, loyalty, a high ideal of personal honour, persistence (amounting to obstinacy at times) and an almost feminine tenderness for the oppressed people he had come to rule. He was an unusual combination of idealist and man of action, and he came to have a single purpose in his life: the creation of a free people in an independent State. Such men are hard to resist, particularly when they are content to devote their brains and strength and fortune to their cause.

"Had I been other than I am," he wrote in a letter to his mother at this period, "had I sought for wealth and aggrandizement, I should never have obtained the hold I have on the natives; and now that it is obtained, if self was the moving principle, I might gain something; but no real benefit would accrue to the natives. I may be, my mother, my own enemy, but I never will be an enemy to the human race, or to the numerous tribes who look to me for aid. I will never desert the principles I have cherished in secret through my whole life—that any paltry personal wealth is scarcely worth the seeking save as a means, and that to devote a life to its acquisition is inimical to the higher virtues. I should like to be wealthy; but my present voyage finished, I need no great yearly income to make me as happy as I can be. I have resources in books, in my pen, and my reflections. I love children and flowers. I love nature in every phase; and with all these objects I can never want for a moderate share of content; and with your society, that of my sisters, and a few

¹ Quoted from *A Letter from Borneo, with Notices of the Country and its Inhabitants*. A rare pamphlet, published in London, 1842.

rational friends, I can scarce wish for more. This is taking the future in the quietest light; but I trust there may be marked out for me a more useful existence—an existence which will enable me to lay my head on my pillow and say, 'I have done something to better the condition of my kind, and to deserve their applause.' Their applause I do not seek particularly; but to deserve the commendation of good and intelligent men is a stimulus to pursue the path of goodness and intelligence. Are these dreams, my mother? or are they the rational aspirations that should guide us? I believe the latter; but if they be but the former, they are dreams which you know I have long cherished, and which I will not part with now."¹

Once again I would suggest that although there are passages in that letter which sound high-falutin', James Brooke never fell below the standard he set himself on paper and, we may suppose, in his thoughts.

When he took over the administration of Sarawak he outlined for himself a practical course of action to improve the condition of his people. He drew up a code of laws, based on the ancient native code but tempered by humanity, whereby crime might be punished and social order be maintained, and the inhabitants of Sarawak, of whatever race, enabled to enjoy the fruit of their labour. He kept in his own hands the monopoly of the antimony ore. Beyond that, all trade was to be free, all roads were to be open, and all boats might enter the Sarawak River without payment of any dues. A light duty on rice was the only tax he demanded of his subjects. Nor did he scrap the old machinery of government, though he supervised it, and he retained the previous officers of State—the Datu Bandahara, the Datu Patinggi, and the Datu Tumanggong. He encouraged the Chinese to come to Sarawak, both as traders and as cultivators. He visited the chiefs of the interior and set himself to win their friendship and allegiance. Lastly, and hardest task of all, he determined to root out piracy both from the river settlements on his borders and from the Malayan seas.

How he succeeded in his aims, with the help of a handful of European officers, how he ended the Dayak head-hunting feuds, swept away tyrants like cobwebs, and, backed by the British Navy, finally cleared the seas of pirates, is too long a story to be related here. He was not able to bring prosperity to Sarawak and make his people free without many setbacks and many disappointments, and he was always hampered by lack of funds. But in the

¹ Quoted from Gertrude Jacob, *op. cit.*, i, 150-1.

end he did what he had set out to do; and he did it alone, without the British Government's protection, or even recognition, of his little State.

His achievement was a remarkable one and even to-day is not sufficiently recognized; as he himself said, the experiment of developing a country by a few Europeans with the assistance of native officers, but without possession, or even protection, by a foreign Power, had never been fairly tried. The experiment was on a small scale, it is true, but only a man of outstanding character and ability could have brought it to success, and for that reason it is not too much to claim, with full deliberation, that James Brooke was great.

At times, it is clear, the isolation of his territory caused him grave anxiety. As his letters to Miss Burdett Coutts show, the older he grew the graver did this anxiety become. But even in the earlier years of his rule he saw how easily, on his death, his people might slip back under the oppression of Bruni or come under the domination of a foreign Power, and with that fear in his mind he offered to cede Sarawak to the British Crown. At that time he asked for no remuneration, although by then he had laid out the remainder of the fortune left him by his father on the development of the State. Sir Robert Peel, however, shrinking from extending England's colonies after the failure of the New Zealand scheme, declined the offer, but sent out Sir Edward Belcher to examine the position. That visit led to a treaty of friendship and trade between Great Britain and Bruni, and in 1845 Brooke was appointed Her Majesty's Confidential Agent in Borneo.

This gave him a certain additional prestige, but his feudatory position to the Sultan of Bruni had always been irksome to him and in August, 1846, he secured from the Sultan a deed which acknowledged his absolute sovereignty of Sarawak; and it is under this deed that Sarawak Proper is held to-day. In view of certain British Ministers' subsequent doubts as to the validity of James Brooke's sovereignty (to which reference will be found in the letters) it is well to give a translation of the document in full. The original deed was burnt in the Chinese Insurrection of 1857, but an attested copy made by the Consul-General, Mr Spenser St John, was preserved and from this the Rajah made a translation. A copy of this document, in the original Malay (written in Arabic characters) and an attested translation, signed by the Rajah, together with the draft translation in the Rajah's hand, were among the Baroness's papers. In quoting I follow the

Rajah's own draft, since the more formal version has certain copyist's errors:

Translation of the Deed of Cession of Sarawak.

H. 1262. A.D. 1846.

Whereas this is the record of the Agreement of the Sultan Omar Ali Sufudin, Son of the Sultan Mahomed Jemal 'alam in the Country of Brunai, that he gives the country of Sarawak with its bays and coasts (extending) from Point Datu to the Entrance of the Samarahan river, to the Tuan Besar, James Brooke Esq. Rajah Sarawak. Whatever may be the pleasure of the Tuan Besar,¹ and not only himself but (whatever the pleasure) of any of his relations whom he may have appointed to govern, the Tuan Sultan will not interfere beyond this agreement. Nevertheless upon the decease of the Tuan Besar whichever of his surviving relations wishes to rule the Country of Sarawak must give to the Tuan Sultan, Four thousand Spanish Dollars.

This Agreement can never be changed. The truth is evident.

Written on the Ninth day of the month
Shaban, on Friday, at three o'clock,
In the year 1262.

True translation.

J. BROOKE.

ARTHUR C. CROOKSHANK,

Secretary to Government.

LONDON, 12th November, 1860.²

The Rajah had by this time been absent from England for nine years and he decided to return. He reached London early in October, 1847, to find himself a popular idol, for Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel's book, *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido*, had served to make his achievements generally known. He

¹ In the margin here is a note in pencil, probably in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand, "Great man."

² The cession was renewed by Sultan Omar Ali's successor, Sultan Abdul Mumin, in 1853. This document (translated, like that given above, by the Rajah himself) stipulated that "Whatever is the pleasure of the Tuan Besar, Sir James Brooke, he may do with the country of Sarawak and its dependencies, to leave the succession, whether to his heirs or to any one else, but when one is dead, whoever succeeds to the Government must pay four thousand large dollars to the Government of the Sultan of Bruni."

stayed at Windsor Castle, where Queen Victoria received him graciously and after dinner talked to him "for nearly ten minutes on the subject of Borneo." The Lord Mayor of London presented him with the freedom of the City in the presence of one of the largest assemblies ever remembered in the Guildhall. The Goldsmiths' Company and the Fishmongers' Company made him a member of their fellowships. Oxford conferred upon him an honorary degree. The Service clubs, the Athenæum, and the Travellers' elected him to honorary membership. He had several talks with Her Majesty's Ministers on the subject of Borneo affairs.

All this attention might have turned the head of another man. But as Brooke himself said, he was too quiet for a hero, too reserved for a lion's skin to deck his limbs. Usually he was relieved when a reception was over, or glad to steal away while it was going on. As a boy he had been constitutionally shy. Now he did his best to shake himself clear of self-consciousness, and wrote to a friend, "I find I can bear restraint and company better than formerly, and if I can have the morning to myself I am content to devote the rest of the day to anybody, or everybody, to talk sense or nonsense at their pleasure, and to receive or impart as much information as possible."

It was during this visit to England that a Committee was formed to plan the establishment of a Church of England Mission in Sarawak. Brooke went to the first meeting determined to save his people from what he called "zealots and intolerants and enthusiasts, with brains heated beyond the rational point, who preach on tubs and begin the task of tuition by a torrent of abuse at what their pupils hold sacred." He told the Committee that what the Dayaks needed were men who would foster them and protect them, teach them the arts of life, inspire confidence, get to know their manners and prejudices and, above all, educate their children. When he met the Rev. F. T. McDougall, whom the Committee had selected to begin the work, he was agreeably impressed and announced his intention of supporting the Mission in every way he could. Dr McDougall subsequently became the first Bishop of Sarawak, and, as the letters show, in after years he and the Rajah did not always see eye to eye.

Before the Rajah sailed for Sarawak the Queen created him a Knight Commander of the Bath and appointed him British Consul-General in Borneo and Governor of Labuan, which the Sultan of Bruni had ceded to Great Britain in 1846. This recognition left him unmoved. Years before, when his country

was beset by troubles, a knighthood would have helped him by adding to his prestige. Now he found his K.C.B. an empty honour; and what was a governorship to a man who was a ruling sovereign? He had never cared for the public service, and he determined not to retain his new office an hour beyond the time he could be useful. In spite of the British Government's professions of goodwill towards Sarawak he doubted its intention to take energetic action against the last of the pirates; and that, above all else, was what he most desired.

Even so, he must have set his face East again with content in his heart. Ten years previously he had sailed for Borneo as a private adventurer. He was returning as a sovereign. Then, he had been unknown. Now, he was honoured by the Queen, fêted everywhere, his name on the lips of thousands, his photograph in the shop windows.

We may believe that the hero-worship counted for little with him. What mattered to him far more was the devotion of his own people and the welfare of his State. For it is literally true to say of James Brooke that he put Sarawak before everything in his life. His words, his letters, his actions prove it, time and time again.

And after his return his forebodings as to the Government's indifference seemed justified. Months went by and no man-of-war was sent to Sarawak, so that no action could be taken against the Saribas and Sekrang pirates on his borders. These Sea-Dayaks, emboldened by the length of time that had elapsed since Captain Keppel had attacked and reduced their forts, were once more raiding the Sarawak coast, capturing trading vessels, plundering the villages, and carrying off the Rajah's subjects as slaves.

At last, however, his protests and appeals stirred the Government to action and in July, 1849, a Sarawak fleet, operating with H.M.S. *Albatross* and the Honourable East India Company's steamer *Nemesis*, defeated a pirate fleet of over 100 sail off Beting Maru, a sandy spit at the entrance to the Saribas River.¹ The victory was complete and the power of the Sea-Dayaks was broken for good. But the slaughter was considerable and aroused attacks on the Rajah in England, led by Joseph Hume, the Member for Montrose, and backed by Cobden and Bright, who insisted that the operation was nothing more nor less than a massacre of innocent people. Hume brought the matter up in the House, pressing for an inquiry into the Rajah's conduct, but was twice

¹ A detailed account of this engagement will be found in *The Pirate Wind*.

defeated by a large majority. Nevertheless, not a single Minister stood up in the House to support the Rajah's policy of exterminating piracy in the Eastern Seas, and this embittered him: as well it might, when Lord Palmerston had expressly stated in an official despatch that this was precisely the object of the British Government.

However, with the exception of the *Daily News* the Press supported him; and he received a memorandum of confidence signed by the leading merchants of Singapore. Then Hume pressed the House a third time for an inquiry. He was again defeated, and on this occasion Lord Palmerston spoke up and declared that the debate had left the Rajah with untarnished reputation and unblemished honour. The Rajah was then in England again and on April 30, 1852, as a public demonstration of confidence, he was given a dinner at the London Tavern, at which over 200 gentlemen of distinction were present. His speech was received with immense enthusiasm and he ended it with these words:

“Do not disgrace your public servants by inquiries generated in the fogs of base suspicions; for, remember, a wrong done is like a wound received—the scar is ineffaceable. It may be covered by glittering decorations, but there it remains to the end.”

A few months later, while the Rajah was still in England, the Conservative Ministry fell and Lord Aberdeen formed a Coalition Government. Lord Clarendon succeeded Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office and once more Hume returned to the attack. This time he was successful. The Government, presumably to strengthen its parliamentary majority, by keeping in with Cobden and the Free Trade Party, granted the long-resisted demand for an official investigation and issued a Commission of Inquiry into the Rajah's conduct.

Angry and humiliated, the Rajah returned to Sarawak. On his arrival he was attacked by small-pox and was nursed back to health by his friend and officer, Arthur Crookshank. Then he went to Singapore to face the Inquiry in a fighting mood.

There is no need to dwell here on the proceedings of that Commission. It was little better than a farce. The Rajah was too proud to call any witnesses in his defence, but those whom the Commissioners summoned—twenty-four in all—testified that the Saribas and Sekrang were pirates and habitual murderers. The findings were promulgated accordingly but, as the Rajah said, since nobody but a pack of humanity-mongers had ever

thought otherwise, their decision was not momentous. Its main effect was to silence Joseph Hume.

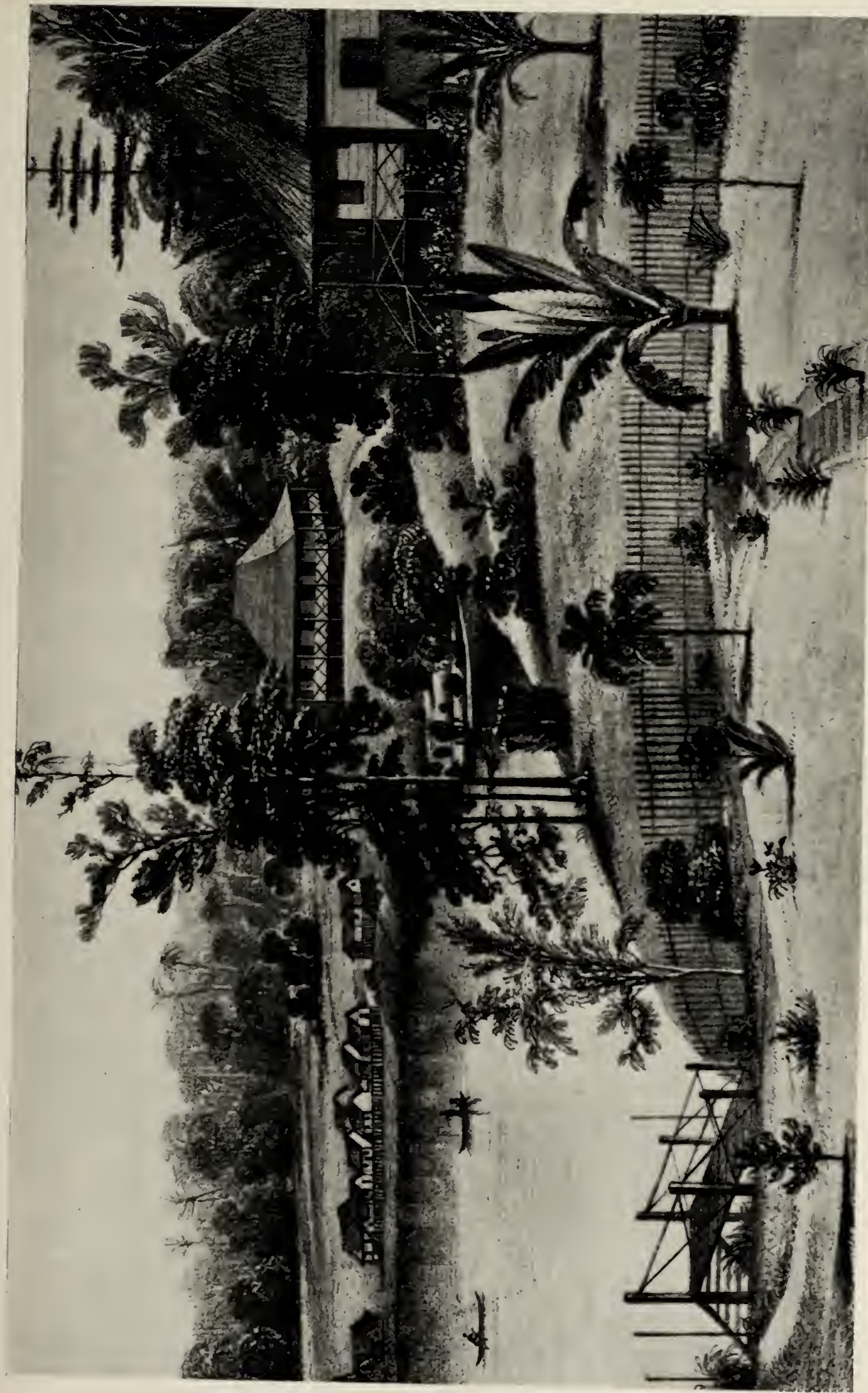
But although the Commission was without much political significance, it was important in another way. For it had a profound effect upon the character of James Brooke. From his letters it is clear that he felt no particular jubilation at the discomfort of his enemies. His good name had been vindicated. That was his right, but the suffering he had endured seems to have deprived him of the power to feel either elation or vindictiveness, now that all was over. He speaks of being able to control the bitterness which Hume's persecution had made him feel. He decided that he must not let it poison his life, and was happier for that resolve. Hume, he felt now, had been guilty of no more than stupidity and perversity, and latterly of pique and anger. "The old fellow would chew a file rather than be foiled in cracking a nut," he said.

The truth was that James Brooke was not a persistent hater, whereas Miss Burdett Coutts was. The letters show her more than once trying to whip up his dead resentment against those whose professions of renewed friendship she felt to be dangerous for him. This attitude of hers marks an essential contrast between the characters of the two.

Yet for all his brave resolves, I feel that the work of Hume and his associates left its mark upon the Rajah until his dying day. Somehow it robbed him of his fire, made him occasionally bitter and resentful and induced him to look with undue suspicion and contempt upon the actions and overtures of British statesmen. It is unlikely that he ever realized this creeping change in him, but it is apparent again and again in the letters he wrote to Miss Burdett Coutts, and, in reading them, the cause must be kept in mind.

But we may believe that after the Inquiry was over he was glad to be done with contention. His own people had remained loyal to him: that was his supreme consolation. He coveted neither rank nor riches. As he once put it, titles, fine clothes, penny trumpets and turtle soup were to him of slight but equal value. What mattered to him was that Sarawak was his to rule and her people his to care for. And he had his friends, his rose garden, his pets, his library and an orchard full of fruit trees.

Living thus, he remained in Sarawak for several years, his State quietly prospering. Then came unexpected disaster. In February, 1857, the Chinese gold-workers of the interior were stirred up to revolution and attacked Kuching by night. They



From "Views of the Indian Archipelago"

THE RAJAH'S BUNGALOW, KUCHING

took the town completely by surprise, set fire to Government House and to the dwellings of the other European officers, and made themselves masters of the town. The Rajah escaped from his house through a bathroom which opened on to his garden. He made his way to the river bank and saved his life by diving under the bows of one of the Chinese boats and swimming across unperceived to the farther bank, where he found refuge in the house of a Government clerk.

The Malays and Dayaks remained loyal to the Raj and the Chinese did not hold the town for long. The opportune arrival of the Borneo Company's steamer *Sir James Brooke* turned the scale against the rebels and, pursued by the Dayaks, they retreated towards the Dutch border where those who survived to cross it were disarmed.

In this memoir my aim has been not so much to write a summary of James Brooke's career as to dwell briefly upon those aspects of it which are important for the proper understanding of the letters which follow. For that reason I shall not linger over the Chinese Insurrection because although it tried Sarawak to the utmost at the time, it had no lasting significance either to the territory or to the Rajah himself. Although some 300 rebels were either killed or driven from the country, shortly after order had been restored the revenue derived from the Chinese became greater than it had been before the Insurrection, a proof of the wide-spread smuggling that had been going on. In Kuching itself the Church and Mission House had been spared, but the Rajah's house had been burnt and with it his library and all his personal records and journals. Spenser St John said he had never seen a "more perfect" library than the Rajah's and its loss hurt him more than the destruction of his house, for he was always as content living in a cottage as in a palace.

Nor did the exposure he suffered on the night of the attack, or his subsequent anxiety, have any apparent effect upon his health. Indeed, one of his outstanding qualities was his resilience, and to the end of his life physical exertion and the need of energetic action worked on him like a tonic. The night he swam the river to escape the rebels he had been suffering from a bout of malaria, but St John mentions that he had never seen him more full of bodily energy and mental vigour than he was soon after the affair, in spite of all that he had been through. However, he felt the need of a change and towards the end of 1857 he returned to England, leaving the administration in the hands of his nephew, Captain Brooke Brooke (the son of his sister Emma,

Mrs Johnson), who had assumed the surname of Brooke on entering the Sarawak Service.

Shortly after the Rajah's return home he began the correspondence with Miss Burdett Coutts which lasted until his death ten years later.

Long before these letters were entrusted to my care I had believed they must exist, for I knew of the friendship between Miss Burdett Coutts and the Rajah, and I knew that the Rajah had been not only a good letter-writer but a prolific one; and I knew how the Victorians hoarded letters. I was sure that if only I could find the letters he had written to Miss Burdett Coutts they would be worth reading.

My first inquiries were unsuccessful. Then I sought help from the Ranee Margaret, James Brooke's niece by marriage and widow of his successor, but she knew nothing of them. When I am on a research trail I am a persistent creature, however, and I then remembered that the Rev. M. W. Patterson, Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, had written the biography of Sir Francis Burdett. My friend Professor J. L. Brierly provided me with an introduction to Mr Patterson. He knew nothing of the letters personally, but he told me that the Baroness had left all her papers to her husband¹ and that on his death he had left them all to his nephew Mr Seabury Ashmead-Bartlett, who had changed his name to Burdett-Coutts under his uncle's will.

The trail seemed to be getting hot, and to Mr Burdett-Coutts I wrote. My persistence was rewarded. He replied that he had a box full of letters from Rajah Brooke to Miss Burdett Coutts and suggested that if I cared to see them I should come to luncheon. Care to see them? I was in such a fever of impatience that I wanted to jump into a car and go to Earl's Place then and there. Indeed, I suppose that none but those who know the subtle thrills with which research work rewards its toilers can understand my feelings as I opened that black tin despatch-box in Mr Burdett-Coutts's study and beheld stacks of letters in that spidery writing of the Rajah's I knew so well. Here, for me, was a treasure-casket. Mr Burdett-Coutts was what the Rajah would have described as "all that was kind" and entrusted the whole correspondence to my care; when I left I took the box with me and I could not bear to wait to begin reading the contents until I reached home.

In the collection there were over a thousand letters. So far

¹ Mr William Ashmead-Bartlett, who took the name of Burdett-Coutts on his marriage.

as I could see Miss Burdett Coutts had kept every letter the Rajah ever wrote her, and usually she would write on the envelope the subject of the letter and the date of receipt. There were a certain number of her own letters of which she had considered it advisable to keep copies (and an execrable hand she wrote), and others from her friends and advisers who had interested themselves in Sarawak affairs. There were also a number of important documents, such as the copies of the various Cessions from the Sultan of Bruni, details of Miss Burdett Coutts's loans to Sarawak, and copies of the Rajah's wills. The correspondence had been kept intact, but the rubber bands which had once confined it had perished, so that the letters had become jumbled together; and it was obvious that they had never been lent any of the Rajah's biographers for purposes of their work, since in one envelope my daughter, while helping me to put them into chronological order, came upon a Bank of England note for £30.

From this material I have made what I hope is a judicious selection, and my knowledge of Borneo affairs has enabled me to string the letters upon a thread of commentary and explanation. I have printed the letters as they stand, with occasional omissions of unimportant passages, making no attempt to correct the Rajah's orthography; and I have attended to punctuation only when it seemed necessary to clarify the sense.

The first letter, a note in answer to an invitation Miss Burdett Coutts wrote welcoming the Rajah home, makes it clear that he had met her—or perhaps renewed acquaintance with her—during his triumphant visit ten years previously, but its tone suggests that they had never been on more than formal terms. The Rajah was then 54 and Miss Burdett Coutts eleven years younger. The acquaintance can be seen developing into friendship, and soon it was rare for him to let three days go by without writing—in the earlier days to her alone and later jointly to her and Mrs Brown, the lady who was her companion and beloved friend.

Although the letters cover only the last decade of the Rajah's life, that period was a momentous one in Sarawak history, partly because the Rajah was fighting for the recognition and protection of his country—while Miss Burdett Coutts seconded his efforts with every means at her command—and partly because it was during this period that the all important question of the succession was decided. It is evident that during these years Sarawak might have become a Dutch, Belgian, French or Italian colony. It was unquestionably due to Miss Burdett Coutts that

the territory is to-day a British Protected State, and is still ruled by one of the Brooke family as an independent Sovereign.

The letters are grave and gay in turn. They deal with politics at home and abroad. Great names come into the story. There are records of plans engendered with high hope and frustrated in bitterness; periods of danger which the Rajah's decisive action turned to a triumphant close. And as that unusual relationship between the Rajah and Miss Burdett Coutts matured it becomes clear how he consulted her on every affair of State. She was the power behind his throne; but in his lighter moments he would send her pressed flowers, rhymes and riddles.

I think I may justifiably call these letters a contribution to Sarawak history. And to me they are something more than that, for they display the character of a great man, a man of action who had grown very tired of the world and its ways, yet whose love for his own people the passing years had no power to weaken. The moment the welfare of Sarawak was in peril age, comfort and the peace he had found amidst the tors of Dartmoor were forgotten. Once more he became the young St George of Borneo, ready to break a lance with any dragon that menaced his subjects: and ready to cross half the world to find the battlefield.

Letters from Rajah Brooke

CHAPTER I

MATURING FRIENDSHIP

January–December, 1858

The Rajah dines at No. 1 Stratton Street—He again offers Sarawak to the Crown—His memorandum to Lord Palmerston—Public dinner in Manchester—The Rajah's speech—His sudden illness—His gratitude to Miss Burdett Coutts for kindness and confidence—Deputation to Lord Derby urges the Government to support Sarawak—His Lordship on the extreme inconvenience of undertakings such as Sir James Brooke's—The Cabinet declines to consider the question either of a Protectorate or a transfer to the Crown.

THE first letter from the Rajah to Miss Burdett Coutts was written while he was staying at Harrow with his friend John Templer, soon after he reached England at the end of 1857. It suggests that they had not met since 1847, the year of his first return from Sarawak. The letter also makes it clear that Miss Burdett Coutts, who was then in her London house, 1 Stratton Street, Piccadilly, had shown her desire to renew their relationship and that she had written to congratulate him on having escaped with his life in the Chinese Insurrection.

Harrow on the Hill,

14th Jan^y, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I must thank you for your kindly remembrance and congratulations on my recent escape from the Chinese. I have not forgotten your welcome when I first returned to England, and shall be delighted to accept your kind invitation for tomorrow (15th) at 7 o'clock. Believe me, dear Miss Coutts,

Very faithfully yours,

MISS BURDETT COUTTS.¹

J. BROOKE.

¹ Even when his letters became more intimate the Rajah never failed to observe the formality of the period by writing "Miss Burdett Coutts" at the close of each letter, or "The Ladies" when he was addressing both Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown. This note will obviate the necessity of constant and perhaps tiresome reiteration.

Harrow on the Hill,
29 Jan^y, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I trust I made no mistake in not dining with you on Saturday last, but I was waiting for a reminder which did not arrive, and in consequence stayed in the country.

I must not even in appearance offer a neglect, and must trust you will pardon what may have appeared one.

Pray do not trouble yourself to reply to my explanation.

Yours very faithfully,
J. BROOKE.

Harrow,
5th March, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I shall be delighted to dine with you on Tuesday next March 9th to have the honor of meeting their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary.

Yours very faithfully,
J. BROOKE.

Soon after the Rajah's return to England, Lord Clarendon, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Lord Palmerston's ministry, had asked him to draw up a statement of his proposals as to the future of Sarawak. He did so, and in his memorandum¹ pointed out that Sarawak was so situated that unless supported from without she could exist as a State only at the pleasure of a powerful European neighbour, Holland. His desire was to obtain permanency for his country and his people, and to this end he suggested that the British Government might give the required support either by taking over the territory on terms which would secure the rights of the natives, or by recognizing his own position as its ruling sovereign, or by a Protectorate under the rule of a Prince of the Royal Family. He himself favoured the transfer to the Crown.

Lord Clarendon was well disposed to Sarawak and upon his representation Lord Palmerston offered the Rajah a Protectorate. As Spenser St John observed, had the Rajah accepted this offer when it was made, without trying to make any further terms, he would have saved himself much disappointment and anxiety in the future.² As it was, although he modified his first proposals and agreed to a Protectorate as the better course, he asked the British Government to repay the sum he had laid out to bring Sarawak to prosperity.

¹ Quoted in full by Gertrude Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, ii, 264 *et seq.*

² *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 322.

Larrow 5th March 1858

Dear Miss Coutts

I shall be delighted to
dine with you on Tuesday next
through you to have the honor of
meeting Her Royal Highness
the Duchess of Cambridge and
the Princess Mary -

Yours very faithfully
Brooke.

Miss Burdett Coutts

“Sarawak cleared of my claims, should stand on its own resources,” he wrote, “and with the protection of England, and safety without and the means of maintaining security within (which this protection would afford), she would have made a great step.

“This once achieved, I would transfer the Government to my successor, and live, unburdened by anxiety, as a friend and adviser of the natives.

“In this manner I see my way clearly: confidence and stability for Sarawak, and a present and future interest for England, with a perfect assurance to both of the country not falling into other hands.”

His claim was reasonable enough. He had spent his whole fortune on Sarawak and had nothing left but his army pension of £70 a year. Had the money been paid, he would have been no richer than he had been twenty years before. But to temporize with governments is dangerous. On this occasion it was to prove fatal. A week after the Rajah had put forward his proposals Lord Palmerston's Government was defeated and resigned office. Lord Derby became Prime Minister and Lord Malmesbury took Lord Clarendon's place at the Foreign Office. Once more the Rajah had to turn diplomat: a role distasteful to his pride and endured only because he wished to give his people security.

His eager temperament, and the very sincerity and enthusiasm he had in his cause, fitted him ill for such negotiations. In his impetuosity he wished to clear all obstacles in his stride, and when he met with opposition from those in power he became embittered and called them “base, truckling and suspicious.” But he had good friends, and with the object of bringing the pressure of popular opinion to bear on the Government they arranged the dinner to which he refers in the following letter, written from Tilburstow Cottage, Godstone, Surrey, which he had taken on leaving Harrow.¹

Godstone,

12 April, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I am unfortunately engaged for the 21st to attend a public dinner in Manchester—unfortunate, though very complimentary as coming from a community once so hostile. I trust to have the pleasure of seeing you shortly in town, which I occasionally visit from my retreat. Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

¹ Mr Geoffrey Hoare, of Tilburstow House, South Godstone, informs me that this cottage, which must have stood on what is now his land, was pulled down about fifty years ago.

After this dinner, at which the Mayor of Manchester presided, the Rajah made a spirited and ringing speech. It was an expression of his considered opinion, and the burden of it was this:

“The simple question before you is ‘Shall Sarawak in future be supported as it once was, or be abandoned as it now is?’ The British policy centres upon this question; it is the touchstone of progress or retrogression; and after fifteen years’ suspense—suspense more hard to bear than misfortune—is it not reasonable to seek an answer to it? Is it not just and right to beg for the final settlement of affairs which will no longer brook delay?—to ask whether a petty State, ruled by an Englishman, and fostered so long, is now to be abandoned with all the British interests in it? . . .

“The proposition, which I have made, as the basis of a future arrangement, is that England should grant a Protectorate, and that she should stand in the position of a public creditor to Sarawak; with a stipulation that, on certain terms, she might take possession of the country, whenever her interests required it.

“This proposition appears to me to combine all the advantages of possession with none of its liabilities. The native Government, which is suited to the people, and which they largely themselves administer, might be advantageously continued; while the possession *de facto* would rest with the Crown. There are not wanting precedents, if precedents be needed, for a Protectorate. And for the loan which is proposed, it is too small almost to be mentioned in this great city of Manchester, and it would be secured, principal and interest, upon the country itself. These are the terms on which I should desire to make a final arrangement with this country, and by which the greatest of all permanent blessings would be secured for Sarawak.

“But if it was required of me, I would sacrifice this sum of £40,000 or £50,000, though it was the fortune which I have inherited, and which I have expended to bring Sarawak to its present prosperous condition. No obstacle shall be raised on my part. I would not allow any selfish consideration to stand in the way of attaining a great public object; for I can stand before you to-night, and always before my country, with a conscious pride that my hands are unsullied by the love of lucre—that I have given all and received nothing.

“My tale is told. I will only say that for myself I am as nothing: for what is a handful of dust compared to the destiny of a people? And the subject which occupies us does involve the destiny of a noble race.”¹

It was probably this speech which first induced Miss Burdett Coutts to begin to take that active interest in the affairs of Sarawak which lasted until the Rajah’s death, for soon after he had delivered it she obtained a list of the principal East India agency houses in the City with a view to securing a signed petition which would gain the attention of the Colonial

¹ Report of *The Manchester Guardian*. The speech is quoted in full by Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 275 *et seq.*

Office. Similar efforts were being made in Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool. The Rajah's appreciation of Miss Burdett Coutts's help is shown in the following letter, written after he had spoken at a public luncheon given him at the Liverpool Town Hall.

*The Vicarage,
Preston,
Lancashire,
29th September, 1858.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have forwarded for you a copy of the Liverpool paper containing a more correct report of what I said at Liverpool than either the Times or Daily News. I have done so because you have taken so great an interest in the subject and because I feel grateful for it. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Town when the summer shall have passed. Pray offer my remembrances to Mrs Brown and Believe [me]

Very faithfully yours,
J. BROOKE.

*Godstone,
3rd Oct', 1858.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Thank you for your note. I was on the way from Preston when it reached me and having an engagement in Town for tomorrow I could not accomplish a trip to Blackpool which I should much have enjoyed. I think that my affair is progressing favorably; the pressure from without is considerable—government not ill inclined, the Chinese Treaty giving an enhanced importance to the question and some arrangements in progress respecting the electric communication with China which must come by Sarawak. All this is in our favor, but I know how unstable are governments and government measures. I hope to meet you in Town so soon as you return and also my best remembrance to Mrs Brown. Believe me, dear Miss Coutts,

Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

The Rajah disliked English public life and the strain of it told upon him; but he would not give in. Then, while staying with his friend Thomas Fairbairn at Northwood, near Manchester, he had a stroke after making a speech in the Free Trade Hall. His mind remained clear, but although sensation began to return within a month he described his illness to his nephew Charles as "a shake to the verge of eternity."

Godstone,
15 Nov^r, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

You will be pleased to learn from my own pen that I am recovering from my attack, and whether it had been for life or death I would have conveyed to you my thanks for your kindness, and for the confidence which is an incentive to goodness and right feeling. I have felt this and desired to express it before. My active life is over and if life be prolonged it must be in quiet. I am cheerful and resigned to whatever may be in store under God's pleasure and though I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again to make the assurance in person, I must not fail to do so whilst I yet can and to express in writing my sense of your kindness.

My kindest remembrance to Mrs Brown, and Believe me

Very faithfully yours,

J. BROOKE.

Godstone,
18th Nov^r, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Thank you for your kind note, and I am glad to say I am improving fast and that my medical men pronounce my seizure to have been caused by functional derangement *only*, and prognosticate a complete recovery. I am not so sanguine myself and at any rate my future life must be cared for to be prolonged. I have always sought after an implicit obedience to God's will and, believe me, never for a moment do I doubt that the future of Sarawak is best in his keeping and that he will so deal with the poor people, as will ultimately prove for their good. Fortune and misfortune are but human terms of ignorance, and if we knew more, we should sometimes reverse our ordinary acceptance of the words. For myself personally I need no great resignation when the trial is so tempered as to leave me many blessings, and means of enjoyment. I am happy and cheerful and though my life of bodily activity should be over (it was this I meant in saying "active life") my mind is clear, and I will use it in advancing the welfare of the poor people and doing such good as I can. You were quite right in excepting to the words but I correct yet feel that I am an *example* where the trial is so slight.

It does not weary me to write about Sarawak, but all I know at

present is that some of my friends hold a meeting today, in order to fix a deputation which is to wait on Lord Derby to urge a favorable settlement of the question on Government and I shall press a final decision shortly afterwards. When I hear more I will request Mr Templer (my intimate friend) to write and inform you of the progress. The object is to induce the government to entertain the question and afterwards to enter on the details with them, and now is the time for any friends to make a representation on the subject.

I trust you are not to spend your winter at Torquay to avoid the severity of the season elsewhere—a mild climate has been recommended for me, but I could not move at present without some risk and I have this cottage, which is retired and agreeable, till the new year. I send a few lines to Mrs Brown to thank her for her little note and kind interest. Believe me,

Yours very truly,

J. BROOKE.

*6 Royal Crescent,
Bath,*

2nd Dec^r, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

My sister Mrs Savage wishes to know you, and I have ventured to say you will be glad to see her when she calls. Her husband Mr Savage is a clergyman. They are very quiet folks—not of the world worldly and therefore should know you. I hope Mrs Brown improves with Torquay air,¹ and is growing as bold as the hippopotamus! on the waters.

I improve and like this bracing weather, accompanied with good fires. My best remembrances and

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

The hopes of the Rajah and his friends that Lord Derby would favour a Protectorate were not justified. The deputation was composed of prominent citizens, representing over three hundred firms, from the great mercantile cities, and strengthened by several members of Parliament, and its

¹ Miss Burdett Coutts was then staying at 1 Hesketh Crescent, Torquay.

spokesmen urged that it was of vital consequence to their trade that Sarawak should be maintained under the protection of Great Britain.

Lord Derby, in his reply, began by speaking of "the extreme inconvenience" of undertakings such as Sir James Brooke's. If every English subject were to be allowed to settle in any district he might think fit, and afterwards call upon the Government as a matter of right to give him military and civil protection, it must lead the Government into endless difficulties and expenditure. His Lordship went on to say that he did not believe that Sir James Brooke had the power without the consent of the Sultan of Bruni to make over the sovereignty of the territory he had been permitted to govern; moreover he looked "with very great jealousy to increasing the number of our dependencies," and he himself doubted whether Sarawak was "of the importance which the gentlemen present seemed to attribute to it." In short, Lord Derby declined to consider the question either of a Protectorate or a transfer to the Crown.

Godstone,

11th Decr, 1858.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

You will have seen Lord Derby's unpleasant reception of a very influential deputation. He seemed not quite pleased afterwards with his part in the scene. The correspondence I enclose, with the remark that the two first letters crossed. So my mission ends for the present but my friends are zealous, kind, and active and there is a good deal of indignation in the mercantile world and out of doors. I am sorry, but at any rate I must not poison the dregs of life with these contentions. I pause before I bid adieu to my native land but under the circumstances perhaps the retreat of Sarawak is my best course.

I asked Templer to write to inform you how matters went on. This important decision induces me to use my own pen and I wish to add, that I propose being in the West country about Christmas and I will not fail a visit to Torquay. I am longing to see and to feel the sun and often turn my thoughts to brighter climes on this side of the brightest which lies beyond the great gulph. I am however improving—more than resigned—gay—when not harassed by business—irritable under the infliction, but as I get stronger I bear it better. I trust you enjoy Torquay—and with my kind remembrances to Mrs Brown, Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosure No. 1
To the Earl of Derby

Godstone,
Surrey,
4th December, 1858.

MY LORD,

In the Times Newspaper of the 1st instant I read the report of a conversation between Your Lordship and the Gentlemen who formed a Deputation to state their opinion on the subject of Sarawak.

I am unwilling to rediscuss any question whether of a political or personal nature; but I must courteously and firmly express my dissent from the views of Your Lordship, whether in relation to the rights of the People and Government of Sarawak, my own position in the Country, or the acts of previous Governments of England.

I must request Your Lordship to remember that the People of Sarawak have rights distinct and independent of my position, as Ruler of the Country *de jure* and *de facto*, for fifteen years.

The practical question is alone worthy of consideration.

The Sultan of Borneo has not power to protect or restrain his Subjects. He cannot enforce obedience even in the City where he resides, and its vicinity is ravaged and depopulated, year after year, by the wild tribes of the interior.

The Government of Borneo in practice is anarchy.

The Government of Sarawak has unassisted for seven years past maintained order.

During these seven years the British Government has entirely abandoned the Native interests on the North-West Coast of Borneo, and, upon the interruption of political intercourse with Sarawak in 1853, conveyed to the Native Chiefs the assurance that they had neither the wish nor the intention to interfere with the affairs of the Country.

In consequence of the measures of the British Government, Sarawak was placed in an unfortunate position of uncertainty, and, after a lapse of five years, it was resolved to seek aid consistent with the Religion, Laws and Customs of the People, to secure the permanency and stability which lie at the root of prosperity and progress.

The various propositions to effect these objects on the bases mentioned are before the British Government for their decision,

and were made by me on the part of Sarawak in the hope of conferring a benefit on both Countries.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient Servant,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosure No. 2

To Rajah Sir J. Brooke

Downing Street,

Decr. 4th, 1858.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Derby to express to you his regret that your letter of the 29th ulto should have remained so long unanswered.

You will have seen from the Public Prints that His Lordship could not find it compatible with his sense of Public duty to adopt the course recommended by you with reference to Sarawak. He would however be sorry that the incomplete reports of what occurred when he received the Deputation on this subject three days ago should leave you under the impression that he does not fully appreciate your merits as well as the motives by which you have been actuated in these transactions, and that he had not so expressed himself at the time to the Deputation.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

H. P. TALBOT.

Enclosure No. 3

To Colonel Talbot

Godstone,

6th December, 1858.

SIR,

I am gratified by your letter, which removed the impression conveyed to my mind by the published account of what had passed on the occasion of the Deputation.

I was happy to receive the assurance that Lord Derby appreciates the motives by which I have been actuated, and I am equally happy to express my sense of the motives which have actuated His Lordship in the performance of his public duty.

The decision I regret, but I have discharged my duty in eliciting and recording it.

Believe me to be,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosure No. 4

To Sir James Brooke, K.C.B.

10 Downing Street,

Whitehall,

8th December, 1858.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 4th instant on the subject of Sarawak.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

MAURICE DRUMMOND.

CHAPTER II

THE RAJAH FINDS A HOME

January—December, 1859

The Rajah asks Miss Burdett Coutts for a loan to help Sarawak—She tries to interest Lord Elgin in Borneo affairs—His reply—The Rajah visits Miss Burdett Coutts at Torquay—She agrees to a loan of £5000—The Rajah at Kingsbridge—The Memorial Fund—The Rajah at Dartmoor—He dreams of finding an empty cottage with sanded floors and woodbine porch—His purchase of Burrator, between Plymouth and Tavistock—His delight in his new property—News of the murders of Mr Fox and Mr Steele—The Rajah's comments on Bath.

THE Rajah left his cottage at Godstone at the end of 1858 and went to stay for a while with his brother-in-law, the Reverend Charles Johnson, at White Lackington. The new year found him harassed with financial difficulties. After the losses involved by the Chinese Insurrection he had been compelled to borrow £5000 from the Borneo Company, which now, to his indignation, pressed for repayment. In his distress he turned to Miss Burdett Coutts, and how she came to the rescue of Sarawak is shown by the ensuing correspondence. Indeed from this time onwards she was indefatigable in her efforts to further the interests of her friend's country not only by means of her fortune, but also by pulling all the strings she could in influential quarters.

*Brown's Hotel [London],
6th January, 1859.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I am sorry I cannot be of your party tomorrow as my business will not be ended, so as to enable me to leave Town, and it is of less consequence because our routes do not go far together.

I asked merely on the chance of finding you and I wanted to speak on the subject you opened last spring on the question of a friendly loan, which you might be able to effect through your influence. I know you will excuse me for renewing the matter about which I will write more particulars when I reach my sister's and of course the loan must be one within our limit to secure and to repay. I will not now add more. How cordially I

return, both to Mrs Brown and yourself, the kind wishes of the season in the way you mention—not as light-hearted traveller setting forth on a journey on a spring morning, but as the weary and travel-worn pilgrim pressing on to a place of rest. Farewell. My kindest remembrances to Mrs Brown and Believe me

Yours very truly,
J. BROOKE.

*White Lackington,
Ilminster,
11th Jan^y, 1859.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I had scarcely written my last, when some of my friends urged upon me to leave all business matters in their hands for the next six weeks or two months, and I feel that it will be wisdom on my part to accept their kindness, and to relieve myself even for a time, from the burden of affairs which I am scarcely equal to manage.

I know you will have excused my alluding to a topic which had before been mentioned and as there is nothing so needful on such a theme as perfect frankness, I will state it to you, and so leave it for your consideration, with the certainty that you will not allow it in any way to annoy you.

The British government has behaved ill, but nevertheless there is but one feeling that Sarawak should continue independent, until a change of sentiment or ministers leads to the granting the protection required—and this to preserve for England what she ought not to cast away. Lord Malmesbury has informed the directors of the Borneo Company that no difference will result in consequence of the recent decision with regard to the protection and care of British subjects and interests in Sarawak. The government of Sarawak itself is so based upon right principles that there is no danger to it excepting from a European power and the danger has been in a great measure removed by the public interest excited, and by the assertion of Lord Derby that there is no prospect of Holland interfering. My nephew Captain Brooke writes that never was Sarawak more prosperous or the people better satisfied or more self-reliant, and looking at the subject in its *worst light*, the country must pass into the hands of Holland or other European nation which would respect its pecuniary engagements.

So far on the security to be offered; and I may add that it is the lightest taxed country in the world, and that the present revenue

more than covers the expenditure, including the interest on a moderate debt. This state of affairs would not authorize us to borrow any large sum and it could only be borrowed by a friendly loan, for enough is not known of the country to induce capitalists to lend excepting at an exorbitant rate of interest. I think then we might with safety borrow at most £10,000—or perhaps better £5000—if it could be had at 4 or 5 per cent, redeemable after 8 or 10 years at the rate of £500 a year. The capital and interest would be secured on the revenue of the country generally and more particularly on the antimony mines, which are let at a royalty of £2000 a year at least, and sometimes reach £3000, never more. They have never been below the former sum even when not let.

This then is the proposition for raising a friendly loan, the interest of which seems to me to be secured, and the capital safe even supposing that Sarawak should pass into the hands of Holland—which is the worst contingency to be apprehended. By this arrangement the government would be placed in a better position and I should be relieved from the anxieties which harass. More than this I will not say and you will consider the matter without bias and in six weeks or two months hence, it will be time for your decision.

I really cannot understand our government, which might gain every thing without risk and prefers risking every thing for fear of a future embarrassment which is more a bugbear than a reality.

I made my journey here better than I expected, for the weather was cold, the place out of the way and several changes of conveyance to brave. The quiet of this retired parsonage suits me, but I hope ere very long to make good my intended journey to Torquay which is tempting for its mildness. I trust it is benefiting Mrs Brown and yourself and with my kind wishes and remembrances Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

*White Lackington,
Ilminster,
13 Jan^y, 1859.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Thank you for your kind note, which is all I could wish. I was surprised this morning to receive the accompanying letter in reply to my communication, written with a view solely of

forcing an official rejection which the government appeared reluctant to give. We may thus benefit by the weakness of government. I would rather it had been from their generosity.

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosure

To Sir James Brooke

Foreign Office,

January 11th, 1859.

SIR,

I am directed by the Earl of Malmesbury to state to you that the Earl of Derby has communicated to His Lordship your letter of the 29th Ultimo, conveying a proposal that the protectorate of the British Crown should be granted to Sarawak, and I am to state to you, in reply, that this proposal is under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

WM. SEYMOUR FITZGERALD.

The following letter from Lord Elgin (the son of the collector of the Elgin Marbles and subsequently Governor-General of India) who was on a special diplomatic mission to China at this time, shows that Miss Burdett Coutts was doing everything in her power to interest her influential friends in the affairs of Sarawak.

Furious, *off Canton,*

Feb. 12, 1859.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Owing to a somewhat rapid move which I made a fortnight ago from Shanghai to Canton I missed a mail, and did not consequently receive until two days ago your very interesting letter of Nov^r 30. Sarawak has very strong claims on me personally, for several of those who have united themselves to the fortunes of Sir J. Brooke are nearly related to me. As regards the public question, however, of the establishment of a colony or protectorate at Sarawak I must reserve myself until I reach England because I feel that there are some important considerations, international and economical, involved in the proposal with respect to which I require information which is not accessible to me here. I have always hoped to be able to visit Sarawak before I leave these regions, but this also will depend in some measure upon circumstances which are not altogether within my own

control. At any rate I shall endeavor to acquire a knowledge of all the facts which are material to a right determination of the question at issue in so far as these can be learned on the spot, and meanwhile I have only to add that I am not insensible to the importance of the considerations which are so forcibly stated in your letter.

I am,

Dear Miss Coutts,

Yours very faithfully,

ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Captain Brooke Brooke, to whom the Rajah had entrusted the administration of Sarawak, during his absence, lost his wife in December, 1858, and with her, Spenser St John remarks,¹ he lost his mainstay, for her calm judgment would have been of infinite service to him in the trials to come. On hearing of the Rajah's illness he returned to England. He was finding it difficult to pay the Rajah an allowance from the depleted treasury and Mr Fairbairn proposed that a Memorial Fund might be raised to secure the Rajah an income that would make him independent of Sarawak. The following letter which Captain Brooke wrote Miss Burdett Coutts deals with this subject and also foreshadows the friction which was to arise between the Rajah and himself in later years.

*Army and Navy Club,
March 17th, 59.*

MADAME,

I feel that some explanation is necessary, of my coming to you the other day. That very morning I had received from Sir J. Brooke a letter urging me to do my best to raise a sum of money for him and that if I succeeded it was his intention to retire, leaving the Administration of Sarawak to me. Having heard that no steps could be taken 'till your decision was known and feeling that no time was to be lost, I at once made up my mind to take the very unpleasant step of waiting on you with such a Mission. I have this morning heard from Mr Templer of your objection to a Subscription. I assure you his family also bitterly feel the humiliation of such a course, but can suggest no other means of raising the necessary fund. The scheme for making over Sarawak and its people to England, for a sum of money, is beyond Sir James Brooke's power, is in opposition to my rights as the Heir, and moreover has been already most strongly protested against by the people of Sarawak, who are attached to their present Gov^t. and will not willingly submit to a change.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

I hope you will do me the justice to suppose that I have no personal hope of advantage from raising this money.

I am, Madame,

Yr obedient Servant,

J. BROOKE BROOKE.

On leaving White Lackington the Rajah went to stay at Dawlish and thence visited Miss Burdett Coutts at Torquay. There she gave him a favourable reply to his request for a loan. It was to be for £5000, and temporarily free of interest. "I wish to say how much my mind has been relieved by your kindness" wrote the Rajah. "What you said this morning will save Sarawak." A letter from Miss Burdett Coutts's solicitor throws more light on the transaction.

Lincoln's Inn Fields,

London, W.C.,

11 April, 1859.

DEAR MADAM,

I duly received the packet relating to Sir J. Brooke and think that I quite understand your wishes. The arrangement will as a matter of course be binding on your "heirs, *executors, administrators*" (the unrememberable words) "and assigns." Of course the real point is "What is the value of the antimony royalties"? Are they worth working? Will they be worked and what is the Rajah's power to deal with them? In a new and unsettled country such as Borneo the security must of necessity be of a doubtful character. Still, I imagine your object is rather to benefit Sir James than to be free from risk; and keeping that object in view you will accept the best security that circumstances allow. I observe your wish as to repayment and will write to Mr Templer on the whole subject. If he adheres to the proposal for commencing repayments in 1864 I think that Interest should thenceforward be charged on the sum then and from time to time remaining due.

It will give a spur to the desire of discharging the debt—and should the then state of circumstances make it desirable you will have it in your power to forego it.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM JAMES FARRER.

P.S. Shall you like the security taken in your own name—or in that of some 3rd person? I suggest this only as keeping your name *as a lender* off the face of the transaction.

W. J. F.

Torcross,
Kingsbridge,
4 May, 1859.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I reached this most lonely summer quarter just as winter has resolved to linger, and though I must confess it to be little adapted to the weather, I did not wish to leave my young relation longer in solitude after tempting him here, and I was anxious to be out of the way, when my affairs were under discussion.

I hope to hear a good account of Mrs Brown, and when this easterly wind blows itself out, she will I am sure recover health and strength.

This is a most wild and somewhat curious place, and our inn, situated in a narrow strip of sand, between a fresh water lake and the salt sea, would be in peril from both were they to break their bounds. Trees are stunted by the Atlantic winds but there is a *downy desolation* which in fine weather must be agreeable, and then the primitive condition of the folk and their country is worth seeing and studying—seven miles from the nearest post town, and fifteen miles from the railway, our village does not boast of a daily paper—I have just received mine. The dogs of war are loose and I hear from a gentleman—German by birth—from Montpellier that the *French are enthusiastic for the war*. What are we to believe? I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again shortly and I may say that I was happy at Torquay. Pray do not take the trouble to write, and with my best wishes for Mrs Brown and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Torcross,
Kingsbridge,
7th May, 1859.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I must indulge myself with a few lines to thank you for your kind letter and offer, and believe me if circumstances should render a temporary assistance necessary I will apply to you without reserve and in perfect confidence. At present however there is no occasion, for I am rich through moderation and my quiet life.

I will not, thank you, move at present as I wish to be out of the world for a short time, and the spring of this morning will probably set you free to move. Mrs Brown must get well so soon as the general weather has had time to effect a cure—I

should prescribe Malta or Madeira for *the winter*, and if she could only be courageous enough to cross the small *puddle*, which divides us from those pleasant and safe places, I should certainly take up my residence there too.

I agree with your *political economy essay*, for we never in our present state can grasp the truth as *a whole* but the little we know we know certainly and we must not doubt our convictions. We may balance the varying phases of a subject, for that is justice, but in action we must take our own convictions as the guide or we should be weak.

When the resort is to brute, unreasoning, force we must have principles established in our minds to guide the choice of sides—so with me: I can only take the freedom of our race and kind in wishing success to Italy and the Italians. Tyranny first makes men unfitted for Liberty, and then takes them with it, as an excuse for tyranny. The sooner, however, men begin to learn the ways of freedom the better, and if they err like other scholars, we must teach still, and not shut up the book.

I will write from time to time and hope likewise to hear.

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Not having been able to collect a substantial sum privately for the Memorial Fund, Mr Fairbairn and his friends resolved to make a public appeal, as this letter from Lord Ripon shows.

1 Carlton Gardens,
London, S.W.,
17th May, 1859.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The Executive Committee of the Brooke Fund at their meeting yesterday decided that it would be desirable to form Local Committees, wherever it may be possible. They have already these established in Manchester, Birmingham and the City; and if the Bishop of Exeter will be good enough to form one in the West of England, we shall be greatly indebted to his Lordship.

We considered the question of holding Public Meetings, and came to the conclusion that it would not be advisable to do so at present. We wish to reserve this means of attracting public attention until a somewhat later period.

I remain,

dear Miss Coutts,

Yours faithfully,

RIPON.

*Seymour Hotel,
Totness,
3rd June, 1859.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I cannot help announcing to you that your loan has discharged the debts of the government and with them a load of care from my mind and my nephew's. An obligation should amongst worldly people be weighed to a scruple, and measured by the inch, of abstract right, but I like to acknowledge it by its effects on my own mind, and the benefit it confers on the thousands and tens of thousands of those wild but fine people. It is in this light I tender, and you will accept, my homage, and my thanks—for you have conferred a deeper favour than you think of.

I came here to meet my nephew, who again left me for Town this morning, but the situation of this house being agreeable and the surrounding country pleasant, I mean to stay over next week. You are, if I may believe the newspapers, in London. I hope to have a line from Mrs Brown to tell me you are both well.

I think I am stronger and improving. With my best wishes,
Believe me

Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

*Seymour Hotel,
Totness,
24 June, 1859.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I was sorry to learn you were suffering inconvenience from your hand, and Mrs Brown likewise from her hearing, but these minor ailments will I trust soon pass away, and we must be grateful so long as we have the means of enjoyment and the feelings which enable us to enjoy. I hope to inhabit the apartment you have invited me to, but not just yet, for the quiet I now have, is certainly doing me good, and I do not like to come so near the great world as Holly Lodge, until I can be freed from its every day work.

This is a very pretty place and next week I am going to make an excursion of a few days on Dartmoor—and as I am a dreamer of dreams I imagine a small cottage where I could retreat, to end my days, but with enough of quiet interests to employ my time living, whilst there. Should I settle abroad and visit

England in the summer? or shall I have my pied de terre in England, and go abroad for the winter when obliged? This is the question I am debating pleasantly with my imagination, and every empty cottage with *sanded floor*, and woodbine porch affords me room for speculation, and inspection. Sarawak of course is my guiding star, but could I be content? Could I find peace in such a retirement? The answer is, that in cottage or palace this depends on ourselves and if I am rid of the demons of bad passions, I think I should succeed. I hope so, but then I know, we never gain anything worth having, without a struggle.

These are the dreams of an idle man and such as I have not had for many years, and which I write having them uppermost in my mind.

My kind regards to Mrs Brown and Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Shortly after writing this, the Rajah found the cottage of his dreams in the village of Sheepstor, on the western edge of Dartmoor, and bought it with part of his countrymen's gift. He describes it to Miss Burdett Coutts in his next letter. Burrator remained his home until his death. It was then bought by the Rajah's friend and neighbour, Sir Massey Lopes, whose granddaughter and her husband, Captain the Hon. E. A. Nicolson, D.S.O., R.N., occupy it to-day. In 1859 it must have been a very modest abode for a ruling sovereign, yet it was enough for the Rajah's simple tastes. Since then it has been enlarged—some of the improvements were added by the Rajah himself. Bungalows have encroached upon the neighbourhood, yet Burrator itself remains remote. Wood is still plenty and the stream still babbles close at hand. But to the north it faces a scene the Rajah never saw, for the great Burrator reservoir, whence Plymouth obtains its water supply, has flooded the valley like a lake.

Captain Nicolson was kind enough to show me over the house and told me that many officers of the Sarawak Government Service make a pilgrimage to see the retreat where the Rajah spent the last nine years of his life. It contains no monument or inscription. Nor is one needed. James Brooke loved England, loved the West Country best, and this one spot of England best of all. Those who tread his footsteps at Burrator will remember his glory.

Dowsland Barn,

Meavy, Nr. Tavistock,

25th July, 1859.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Your poor friend the Rajah is reduced to living in a *Barn*, just as Mrs Brown described, with sanded floors, and queer

men with long pipes, stopping to refresh, whilst driving wild ponies to or fro from Dartmoor. It came about in this wise—I found a very charming little place for sale between Plymouth and Tavistock, and in a straight line about 25 miles from Torquay. I have been desirous of making the purchase, and to pass away the time, till it could be arranged, I took possession of this Barn which has recently been converted into a small and not uncomfortable inn. My little “Box”—that is to be—is snugly situated under Dartmoor—a stream babbles close at hand—wood is plenty and in all it boasts 72 acres of land. I might have searched for ten years without meeting a place within my limits so retired, so near the world and so suited in all respects to my tastes. I have in a week’s stay derived great benefit from the bracing and elastic air and I take my daily ride, and walk, to distances I little thought ever to have accomplished again. Yesterday I was five hours on pony back on the Moor! !

This affair will explain my inability to pay Holly Lodge a visit at this time, and by the waste of delay, you will have flown to Scotland before it has been arranged. I hope Mrs Brown will derive every advantage from her visit to the North, and it will give me real pleasure to see you at Torquay on your return. It shall be my Italy, and most true it is that the society of our friends makes amends for climate and almost every other ill of life. I shall not now need a change to Madeira or elsewhere, and I long to be settled quite as much as I once longed to roam. I shall have plenty of interests in the things around me, and I know that a short gallop on the Moor, will at all times dispel unpleasing memories, should they press upon me.

My kindest wishes for Mrs Brown, and when I become Lord of Burrator I shall maintain that the air of Dartmoor, is purer than any airs in Scotland and better suited to her constitution next year.

Goodbye and pray let me know where I am to address you in this migration towards the North Pole.

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

The next letter refers to an event which was to have far-reaching consequences. During Captain Brooke’s absence in England his younger brother, Mr Charles Johnson (who subsequently succeeded his uncle as Rajah), was administering the Government, and two disaffected chiefs thought this a good opportunity to form a plot for murdering all the Europeans in the territory. The following copy of a document, corrected



By permission of S. Burdett-Coutts, Esq.

ANGELA BURDETT COUTTS



in the Rajah's handwriting and probably drawn up by Captain Brooke, found among the Baroness's papers, gives the essential details of the outbreak:

In June, 1859, it was reported at Sarawak that white people were being murdered in the Dutch Settlements of Borneo by the natives. It was soon actually ascertained that Mr Fox, resident of the Rejang, and Mr Steele, Commandant of the Kanowit fort, both within the Sarawak Territory and serving its Government, had been murdered at the instigation of Sheriff Mushahor, a man of rank, being of the Class of Sheriffs, who are really the descendants of Arab Adventurers, but are supposed by the Mahometans to be of the blood of the Prophet, and thereby held so sacred that it would be impossible to find a native bold enough to execute such a man if required, and that a conspiracy was widely spreading to drive all Europeans out of the Country. The facts were afterwards proved by the confessions of one of the actual murderers, by several other Conspirators, and by Letters which had passed between them.

The Instigator of these murders, and of this Conspiracy, proved to be Sheriff Mushahor. He was denounced by the Sarawak Government, under whose jurisdiction his crimes were committed, by the Dutch Authorities at Pontiana, and by Mr Consul-General St John, who had examined the evidence against him, and to whom the Sultan of Borneo had stated, that in his opinion Sheriff Mushahor had instigated the murders.

Mr Johnson was at that time administering the government of Sarawak, as the Representative of the Rajah Brooke. He collected a force and proceeded with it to Kanowit Fort in the Rejang, originally built by the Sarawak Government, and kept up by it at considerable expense, to protect the Sultan of Borneo's Sago Rivers of Oya, and Muka, from the attacks of the head-hunting Dyaks of Kanowit, and Upper Serebas. There he found some of the Kanowit tribe fortified in the interior of the Rejang; the other murderers having fled. Mr Johnson attacked and drove them out, erected a second stockade for protection and returned to Sarawak.

This vigorous proceeding restored quiet for several months.

Meavy,
Burrator,
Tavistock,
15 Oct, 1859.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I hope before this time you have exchanged your Northern adventures, for the calmer life of Holly Lodge, or Stratton Street, and that Mrs Brown's robust health is the fruit of so much travel—Iceburghs, and Aurora, and Northern Lakes and moors and lands depopulated are well to see, and remember, but recommend me to the Italy of Devon in Hesketh Crescent, where I look forward to meeting you again. I delight in my

home and have been trying its rougher features, without abatement of my partiality. It is wild and lonely and with much of natural beauty in its scenery which endears it to me. I forget a great deal of the outer world, though my tranquillity has lately been disturbed by the sad intelligence from Sarawak of the capture, by surprize, of one of our frontier forts and the death of the two gentlemen in charge of it. Threatened for ten years—surprizes planned, and attacks made, and defeated, it was safe so long as danger was expected, and when all was pronounced at peace, a handful of men walked into the open door, found the garrison absent and murdered the two unarmed gentlemen. It is nothing in itself, for the events, however melancholy, will prove the fidelity of the natives to their government, but it rivets the conviction that the country and government should not continue in an equivocal position or be allowed to drift into misfortune.

I shall be pleased to hear that you are safely back again and well. I am contemplating a visit to Bath, after nine months' procrastination. I am advised to go there and *submit* to a course of its waters under medical advice, and the dreary month of November may be devoted to the purpose.

My kind remembrances to Mrs Brown, and with best wishes
Believe me

Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

6 Royal Crescent,
Bath,
9 Nov', 1859.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have been a week in Bath suffering from a bad cold, caught in the very bad weather, which, judging from appearances, I hope is over. Today I commence the use of the baths, not a disagreeable remedy, and I hope a month's use will prove the doctor's wisdom in recommending them.

My news from Sarawak was very cheering and what I expected. Justice had been vindicated and the population had proved their attachment to their government. My nephew managed the business admirably, and I particularly admire the confidence and sagacity shown in leaving the inhabitants to try the criminals. At last however it came to a struggle for some 200 men, with their women and children, who had surprised and murdered the two

gentlemen. Being surrounded the Dayaks fortified themselves in a house or rather village and there died fighting hand to hand in the midst of the flames. The women and children however were saved. All this on our extreme frontier and not done by Mahomedans.

It is well over, the fidelity of the people proved and matters proceeding much as usual but nevertheless something must be done to give Sarawak security and permanency—she is independent, and I have always counselled the maintenance of it too strongly to retract now, even were I so inclined, which I am not. She is abandoned by England and the recent refusal to ratify the recognition which the British government formerly gave forces on Sarawak the rupture of every relation, unless her Independence be such a sham, as to make one blush. Sarawak needs a friendly alliance with a European nation in earnest, and with interests in the Eastern seas—she thought she had found such, but appeals in vain now to acts and sanctions, and to alliance, and joint measure and common blood shed upon them. My interests and the interests of my family, are as nothing, but to attempt to sustain an isolated position with Holland at our door, could but end in an unconditional surrender, not only of absolute independence, but of the rights of self-government, religion, laws and customs.

Is it not strange and sad that every thing England has touched in the Eastern Archipelago she has betrayed—Java—Sulu—Bencoolen—Quedah—Sarawak? The people who have loved her best and trusted her most, have been most ill used. As Locke says, there is but one appeal, i.e. to God, against the wrongs committed by power. I feel most thankful that I am strong enough to face the emergency without a shaking nerve, or the loss of an hour's sleep, and often I have found it so, that when matters come to the worst, the worst in feeling is over. We have an attached and faithful people—the rest is light to bear.

Your former house was No 16—the centre house—and when you lived there I was an occupant of my father's house, No 14,¹ and remember well your party though not yourself individually.

¹ The Brookes' house in Bath was No. 1 Widcombe Crescent, whereon the authorities have placed a commemoration tablet, which H.H. the Tuan Muda, Captain Bertram Brooke (the present Rajah's brother), unveiled on June 29, 1923. Sir Francis Burdett lived at 16 Royal Crescent, and presumably the Brookes' at one time had No. 14, though Mr. T. Sturge Cotterell, the Town Clerk, tells me that there is no official record of this.

I dare say the *ghost* of the girls and the Shetland pony, and military attendant, were familiar to me *then*, but I dare say too, were rather below my regard, as a *young gentleman*. The place is the same, but improved by the Park. The King's bath has never been cleaned since, by the look of it. The glories of York House have departed and the theatre which I frequented as a treat and where I first heard Young and Miss O'Neil, looks cramped and murky—most unwholesome—outside I mean, though no doubt the interior is as grand and beauteous to the rising generation as formerly to myself. I hope you will let me know when you go to Torquay—With kind regards to Mrs Brown,

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

6 *Royal Crescent,*
Bath,

12 *Decr,* 1859.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I did not tell you, for my movements were so uncertain, that I could not fix any day for my visit. In a few days I hope to be able to inform you that I am free, and about to pay my visit. I dread visits in general but do not feel like visiting when coming to your house and I am very glad to have my old apartments. I am very glad you have become acquainted with my dear sister. My best remembrances and wishes for Mrs Brown's health. What would she say to a piratical steamer arriving at Hesketh Crescent to convey her to Madeira? and the Commander in disguise at dinner with her, like the Bandit Chief in the *Forty Thieves!* You sent me so sensible an address on Needlework, that I feel bound to send back something more stirring, and foolish. It really *is sensible* but the obvious criticism rose to my mind, that like the rest of the world, you preach more than you practice in this delightful art—so to the best of my knowledge. Is this fair? What weather for your visit to the wilds of Devon.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER III

THE GIFT OF THE *RAINBOW*

January—October, 1860

The Rajah opens negotiations with France on the subject of a Protectorate for Sarawak—Miss Burdett Coutts does not approve—She again asks Lord Elgin to use his influence with the British Government—She offers the Rajah a steamer—His poignant appreciation of her kindness—He breaks off negotiations with France—Miss Burdett Coutts appeals to the Bishop of Oxford—£8800 collected for the Testimonial—The Rajah buys the steamer at Paisley—Miss Burdett Coutts chooses the name—The Rajah on slum clearance—The *Rainbow* sails for Sarawak—Some riddles and rhymes—A perilous journey.

THE first months of 1860 found the Rajah still torn by anxiety. Finding his own country indifferent to the fate of Sarawak and unwilling to give her the support she needed, he reluctantly opened negotiations with Louis Napoleon.

Burrator,
Tavistock,
2 March, 1860.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I made an auspicious journey¹ and found a glad welcome, yet I must confess I felt a little desolate. There is so much more time for unpleasing reflection. I heard from Sarawak and the intelligence was so far good that they have affairs well in hand and a just confidence in their people. But there is no doubt that the recent intrigues were originated in Brunai with some of the Rajahs—the fruit of British Policy. We shall not improbably come into collision with Brunai in consequence, and I have no fear of the result—sad only that my shattered body does not back my spirit. If *my measure*² prove successful, all may be well without a struggle.

My kind remembrances to all and

Believe me ever

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

¹ After a visit to Miss Burdett Coutts at Torquay.

² His decision to approach France.

Burrator,
Tavistock,
21st March, 1860.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The weather is dreadful and I have George an invalid here so I cannot get to Lord Morley's today.¹

Besides this my *negociation* has become known to the British government, and of course I must look for a torrent of abuse, and much that is painful or separating from old friends, but I am firmly assured I am right, and therefore shall suffer less this way, than the others.

Will you have me for a few days towards the end of the week, or the beginning of next?

My best wishes for you both and compliments to Lord and Lady Morley.

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
Tavistock,
26th March, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Thank you for your kind letters and I will come on Thursday if fine, if not on Friday and stop till Monday or Tuesday.

Very painful no doubt but right, and so we suffer. I do not pretend to support which gives me comfort or ease. This can only come afterwards. Every thing induced me *not* to take this course. I should have been *thought right* by all my friends, and the English world and I should have preserved good repute and friends, ease and competence, but for ever would have been the sting that I had loved these things more than the people who trusted me. I do not expect to succeed in doing them any good, but the effort must be made never the less. However I will stop by saying your advice to me is excellent, and shall be followed, for I am not *cool* and *deliberate* if put upon. It will ease my mind to talk this over in Mrs Brown's room—neither of you must think ill of me. All kind remembrances,

Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

¹ Saltram, near Plymouth, where Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown were staying.

Miss Burdett Coutts could not wholly approve of Sarawak being offered to France and, having found Lord Elgin interested in the Rajah's affairs, she wrote to him again, in the hope that he might use his influence with the Government. The following letter is taken from a copy of the original, corrected in her handwriting.

3 Whitehall Gardens,
5th April, 1860.

DEAR LORD ELGIN,

Since your enquiry, I have thought out all I know about Sarawak, which I can put in a categorical form as I may not have an immediate opportunity for getting direct information and your time is short; only you will remember the following memoranda are merely *my* impressions and recollections and take *as such*, and that, with all the wish to state the truth, nothing is more difficult.

First, then, I suppose the Rajah would have given up Sarawak and, with the consent of the Country itself, made it a British Colony; for this, I suppose, but don't positively know, he would have required some indemnification for his private fortune, spent in this enterprise.

Secondly, failing this, which I believe his family did not much wish either, he would propose to the English Government, what he now seeks from foreigners—a protectorate. What that implies I am not sure: I suppose some guarantee of assistance, and the carrying on of the affairs of Sarawak under the direction of the government granting this. The terms of protectorates perhaps differ.

Thirdly—and this I believe is all *he* wants—a recognition of existence and a claim to British protection: either by the presence of a man-of-war, or gun-boat, which would act, if the interests of Sarawak required it; or even by the regular appearance merely of such a thing, to see after the English there, only such as the Bishop, schools etc. You would see by a short letter from the Bishop of Labuan in the report of this year for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, how melancholy is his position; but, I forget,—you will see him. Any help really given would I *believe* answer the Rajah's wishes and enable this little country to exist and prosper.

This brings me to the state of Sarawak. It is not true the enterprise has failed—even now, under all the adverse circumstances of late years (the Indian mutiny and general fermentation in the East and the plots against the Dutch who are not loved) and to say the least after the cessation of any manifestation

of interest by the Home government, the country is in a greatly improved condition to what it was when Sir James Brooke went there. The revenue might be, and would under *native* rule be, made much larger than it is. The natives however reward so mild an administration by discovering the various plans formed against it. There is *no* debt, as you know, but one; a considerable portion of the land is under cultivation, and the imports and exports are still about a million, and a considerable body of men *could* be raised for service, with some security. All its trade would soon develop itself again. When the amount of recognition and patronage which induced Sir James to undertake this enterprise was bona fide given, the Country prospered rapidly, and the natives appreciated fully the benefits they had derived from their connections with the English. *What* this understanding between the English government and the Rajah amounted to positively and legally, I cannot state. I presume the appointment he held under the government was given to secure his influence. Whatever it was, it was carried out for several years, and every encouragement certainly was given to him. Possibly it amounted to no formal arrangement.

There are two ways of giving assistance: one to promote and forward an object, and the other not to advance it, or possibly impede it. A change of feeling in the authorities would soon re-act on the officials who visited Sarawak and the protection promised, and at one time really given, might dwindle into nothing without breaking any other, than a moral obligation. But I will get more accurate information when I can. I don't think we have acted kindly to a countryman whom we permitted and encouraged to commence an arduous career and to foster a dangerous enterprise. I think he has fulfilled his part. He had succeeded. He had increased the good feeling for England. He had done us credit, and he had made (what is not always done in Europe) his small domain happy, prosperous and contented. Do not trouble to send any reply to this. It needs none, being merely a statement.

Yours very sincerely,
A. G. B. COUTTS.

Not content with doing all she could to aid the Rajah by political wire-pulling, Miss Burdett Coutts once more gave a practical expression to her friendship by offering Sarawak a steamer which would act as a gunboat and at the same time serve to facilitate communication between Kuching and Singapore. This was what the Rajah had always longed for; the gift

gave him fresh hope and his spirits rose. The next letter acknowledges his gratitude and the enclosure shows that the negotiations with France were broken off, not because Louis Napoleon was afraid of offending England (as St John states),¹ but because of Captain Brooke's action.

Burrator,
Tavistock,
7th April, 1860.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Generously given, and freely received in circumstances of great difficulty with the safety of Sarawak depending. We can speak of it more when I come again to Torquay—appreciating your kindness, I can readily understand the higher motive. You will see the step I have taken and its reason in these few lines just sent to my nephew. I hope you are home and will not trouble you further, but hope to see you soon.

Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

Enclosure²

To Captain Brooke Brooke

Private

Burrator,
7 April [1860].

MY DEAR BROOKE,

I seized an opportunity (such as it was) to break off the negotiation with France. You have thus defeated my efforts to save Sarawak by your representations when you ought to have supported me with vigor after agreeing to the measure and after your proposal to sell our rights and abandon the country. Now—no further word of reproach shall you hear. My sole object is to save Sarawak. If the Testimonial be lost, as a necessity I must come out. If not, I shall break off all connexion with Sarawak, giving you every support *when you ask me* for it. Our different principles of action, must not clash longer. By the next mail you shall hear further, and shall have the legal documents of my abdication so soon as Mr Booty³ can prepare them. In either case I can send a steamer shortly which will enable us to hold Sarawak for some years at least and warrant her ruler in continuing the government in its present position.

J. B.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 334.

² Copy of a letter, in the Rajah's hand.

³ The Rajah's solicitor.

Meanwhile, at the instance of Miss Burdett Coutts, the Bishop of Oxford had put Sarawak's case to Lord Palmerston, whose government was again in power. Lord Palmerston mentioned that the difficulties he saw against granting Protection were, first, that the Rajah's sovereign rights were not absolute but held under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Bruni, and, secondly, that the Crown could not formally recognize a subject as a sovereign. But he intimated that he would allow the Rajah, if attacked, to call for the aid of British ships of war, and recommended that any such appeal should be made to him as head of the Government.

Burrator,

Tavistock,

10th April, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I never can have a moment's peace whilst all the responsibility is thrown on my shoulders and all my measures thwarted locally—I must be out in Sarawak to govern, or let them govern and appeal to me when they want my help. The former course would soon kill me, and so I have chosen the latter, and my nephew will do well with a Sarawak steamer, which is all in all, and such support as may come out of the Bishop's kind exertion in our favor. Retired from public life I shall have more influence for good than at present.

However if in a superabundance of patriotism my friends withdraw the Testimonial, I must of course go out. I send you what I have written to the Bishop. Shall you have a large party next week, say Tuesday? and shall I come again? My best regards—

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosure¹

To the Bishop of Oxford

Burrator,

9th April, 1860.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF OXFORD,

I am very much obliged to you for your note and for the kind interest you take in Sarawak affairs. The *immediate danger* I hope has passed, but as I have all along pointed out, the government of Sarawak cannot stand without aid and is *not safe* until support reaches it. To difficulty—No 1—mentioned by

¹ Draft in the Rajah's hand.

you, I reply that the title might be made absolute whenever required, if not, as I believe, absolute already.

To difficulty No 2—that the British government was asked “formally to ratify the previous recognition of Sarawak” and it was expressly stated that should an objection arise from the ruler being a British subject, it might be easily overcome! It is on difficulties such as these that a breach of faith felt by nine-tenths of the intelligence of the country, is consummated and the *real disgrace* to England is that after an explicit promise of protection, her subjects should be abandoned to their fate for want of a little help.

The altered relations between England and France prevented my pursuing the negociation in the latter quarter¹—and I have so intimated to the chiefs and people by the outgoing mail. So far then there is breathing time—and I trust in a few days I shall be enabled formally to transfer my authority and *responsibility* to my nephew and successor, and an application on his part might then be made in the mode proposed by Lord Palmerston, though in my opinion it will be of little use. This is not the first time, by very many, that we have been authorized *to call* for the aid of the navy, but when we call there is no answer—and the *general orders* of government might just as well remain at the Treasury. What is needed is an arrangement for a slight and steady support upon which we could rely, and which should not be liable to change with every change of ministry.

A single gunboat, *available when it is wanted*, would be of more use than the whole China Squadron coming when not called for and not to be found when protection is required. Play to them—death to us—and the extent of the loss and disgrace will only be discovered when too late. My nephew, however, I do not doubt, would accept the compromise suggested, but as some days must elapse before I am in a position to act in his behalf, it would be an effort of humanity to their countryman, if my friends could dispose the government to make some arrangement to afford a slight but certain support to Sarawak. What can be more easy?

Happy indeed shall I be when my duty has been done and my responsibility at an end.

J. B.

¹ The ostensible reason apparently. He does not refer to his nephew's attitude. *Vide* p. 73.

[*Burrator,*
27th April, 1860.]

An answer to Mrs Brown's question? and a definition worth pondering.

The combinations which the mind puts together, the pictures which it paints, the wholes which Imagination constructs out of the materials supplied by fancy, will be indebted to some dominant *feeling*, not as in other natures to a dominant *thought*, for their unity and consistency of character, for what distinguishes them from incoherencies.

The difference then between the poetry of a poet, and the poetry of a cultivated but not naturally poetic mind, is that in the latter, with however bright a halo of feeling, the thought may be surrounded and glorified, the thought itself is always the conspicuous object; while the poetry of a poet is feeling itself employing thoughts only as the medium of its expression. In the one, feeling waits upon thought; in the other thought upon feeling.

It may assist in rendering our meaning intelligible, if we illustrate it by a parallel between the two English authors of our own day who have produced the greatest quantity of true and enduring poetry, Wordsworth and Shelley.

J. B.

The Rajah's offer of Sarawak to a foreign Power had exercised the minds of those friends who were organizing the testimonial on his behalf. The Rajah's quick pride was stung by any suggestion of conditions to the gift, and here he shows himself ready to refuse it and to return to Sarawak. Finally the gift was made unconditional, although the sum subscribed amounted to only £8,800, less than half the sum which the Committee had aimed at collecting to make the Rajah independent of the Sarawak revenue.

Burrator,
Tavistock,
30th April, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have heard nothing about the Testimonial and therefore expect some steps to be taken which will force upon me the refusal. It keeps me unsettled and anxious but I shall mind your advice and not act without deliberation, for these gentlemen had friendly intentions whatever may be their acts now. I do

not think they could pretend I had stated any thing in the shape of a pledge, not to seek protection elsewhere, so contrary is it to proof and reason. However we shall soon see, and when necessity forced the measure upon me I was ready to make every sacrifice myself as I am now. I shall be sorry to give up my cottage, and again to plunge into the world of strife, but how short the time? and my people will welcome me and be glad to have me amongst them for ever so short a time.

When do you propose moving? When shall I come again? Towards the end of the week—Friday or Saturday?

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

*Burrator,
Tavistock,
2nd June, 1860.*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Your letter only reached me yesterday though dated the 29th ult. The lady who wrote it puzzled the post office with the Hieroglyphic representing the word "Tavistock" and hence the letter travelled to strange places.

I am perplexed by this weather in June. The gale prevented my going last Tuesday to Glasgow and now (Saturday) it blows so hard as to threaten a further detention for the steamer only goes once a week. I have a mind to come to London, till the weather clears, in case I cannot go next Tuesday, as I might then arrange (with your help) the application to Lord Palmerston and some plan of conducting future relations if relations there are to be. The money, should the new steamer be purchased, would be in plenty of time by next Monday week, the 12th and in the mean time if you would lend me £100 I shall be much obliged as I want to get rid of the claims of our poor Church¹ upon me. I am rich to that amount in oak coppice (the greater part of which I have contributed) but it is not realizable this year, and I do not like having a contribution hanging over my head. I intend in due season to beg of Mrs Brown and yourself something for this same object, for never was Church more delapidated or parish poorer or better inclined to give according to its means.

The weather is dreadful. There is to be no summer at all

¹ Sheepstor Church, then almost a ruin which, characteristically, the Rajah had set himself to restore.

this year. If you would kindly order a fire for our tea drinking in July I should be greatly obliged.

My kind remembrances to the Lady of the Hieroglyphics!

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

Plymouth,

6th June, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I am going by train today as far as Birmingham and tomorrow night or Friday morning shall be at Carrick's Royal Hotel, Glasgow. I shall then inspect the steamer and let you know the result. The price will be £4100 and before she was fitted and ready for sea for our purpose about £5000. I want to say that the services of such a vessel will be of the utmost importance and will justify us in maintaining Sarawak *independently* till circumstances may *accommodate* the differences with the British Government. But this is not certain and in my opinion Sarawak could not permanently stand alone and will become ultimately a protectorate or possession of *some* European nation!

I say all this once more because, dear lady, I should like you to consider the circumstances again before parting with so large a sum—and all I can add is that it must be a battle of life and shall be fairly and gallantly fought.

Will you then let me hear from you on this matter Aye or Nay soon, to satisfy my conscience, as I would not bind you if reflection whisper that the risk is great and the loss large. Directly this business is settled I shall come to town. The weather is fine but continues boisterous.

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

13 Park Circus,

Glasgow,

9th June, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I came, I saw, and I approved the new screw steamer at Paisley—she is in every way fitted for Sarawak and it remains now to have a trial; so if she comes up to the requisite mark in speed the bargain will be concluded.

Thank you for your kind note of the 7th. The money if ready will be paid over after the trial and conclusion of the purchase and when the builders have made some slight alterations I wish.

I quite understand that our battle shall be fought and *won*—as you command—and only when lost shall the people make the best terms they can for their future government. But the question to be considered *now* is how the battle is to be fought? The present mere inert position—the drifting of a log of government in the hope that somebody will pick it up—will never lead to success. For this when I come to London I should like to consult and provide—consult because I see only one side of the question. Whom am I to consult? Besides yourself I really am at a loss, and the great difficulty is that the British government will not communicate on the subject. They are too cautious to be candid. The question is a large one to understand and men are all so busy as to give it but a hasty consideration. Pray think of this—who has leisure to think about the welfare of Sarawak and the million of folk—“*black fellows*”—involved in it? The details may come after and then I can resolve upon my plan of battle. I want to know the position of Sarawak with the British government—the attitude to be taken in consequence—and the channels of communication in future?

I am very comfortably located with an old friend and when the grand affair here is concluded shall come direct to London. I thank you too for your kind letter of the 4th, which went *straight* to Burrator. Would you kindly pay the £100 to my account at Coutts's—The money for the steamer merely to be ready when called for.

I deny that imputation of Hieroglyphics—the obscurity was in the place, unknown to the Postmaster General—Pray do not trouble yourself in your flurry and hurry to write more than is needed—I shudder at the idea of entering Babylon, but could resign myself to a voyage round the Cape in the — steamer, which Mrs Brown and yourself have to name.

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

13 Park Circus,
Glasgow,
14 June, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I will send you a line, as you wish, the day before I conclude the bargain for the steamer, so that the price for her may be paid into Barings ready for transfer to the builders through Mr Bates. Then will come the more troublesome details of fitting the vessel out, which we can consider afterwards.

Thus you will have given us the assistance which monarchs, statesmen and states have refused, to advance the happiness and freedom of a really fine people—*only* they are “black fellows.”

If by a mere hostile dealing they oblige me to refuse the Testimonial, I shall go out in this vessel. Will you tell me what she is to be called? The name should not indicate an angry spirit.

I should like to have seen that Babylonian Princess in her barbaric gems! A statesman's price or a knight's ransom hung about her—Statesmen are incorruptible because nobody thinks them worth trying but alas! for human nature, shew me 100 men craving whether rank—wealth—ambition or revenge, and I will buy 85 of them—but they must have what they want.

There is no better plan than leaving the political question with the Bishop of Oxford. The first point is, without compromising Sarawak, to gain security till our steamer arrives—but the government should be shaken into the idea that step by step they are plunging into the most hopeless imbroglio by the sacrifice of the first principles of free trade. A *neutral* is a despicable animal. How is the world to advance if men and nations refuse to help their brethren—to advance the right and check the wrong? If they pass by on the other side of the road—Neutral!

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Near Glasgow,

16 June, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I was writing a brief memorandum for the “Missus” when your kind inquiries arrived.

Now for the name. There was no hurry but much impatience. “Wonder” would translate badly and she (i.e. the Nameless) is but a “Little Wonder.” Sprite would do—“Rainbow” better. Hope in the clouds which is its proper place. “Iris” is an amendment.

“An Iris sits—

“And all amid the horror of the scene

“Love watching madness with unaltered mein.”

Do I quote correctly? All the responsibility rests upon you both—and Johnson's Dictionary so open before you . . .

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

13 Park Circus,
Glasgow,
21st June, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The purchase of the vessel will be completed on Saturday. Therefore if you will pay the price (£4100) into Messrs Baring? I will write on Monday to Mr Bates where to pay the money to the builders. I must afterwards trouble you with the requirements for the outfit and this put in train I can come to Town.

Will you likewise give me the name, as it is to be cast on the Bell—Rainbow—Heartsease—or other pretty and translatable name. Farewell.

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

13 Park Circus,
Glasgow,
26th June, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Thank you for your kind note just received. I have written to Mr Bates to make the payment in two instalments of £2100 and £2000. We tried the "*Rainbow*" in a gale of wind on Saturday and she performed excellently well.

Rainbow is a very pretty name.

Now comes the important business of fitting her out, which upon as careful an estimate as can be made beforehand will not be under £1000 and not over £1,200. I need not go into particulars now, but it will be entirely an outlay of detail—such as sails, masts, guns, work, coals, Insurance, etc., etc., etc. The payments on these and a number of other items, I will keep in my own hands so as to check the expenditure and I think the best way would be to pay the money or part of it to my account with a Bank in Glasgow—not less than £800 at first and the rest afterwards, as you think best, or the whole sum at once and I can return whatever may remain. When this arrangement has been made I can come to London to Banquet or Ball, where I shall appear provided you send me a *formal invitation*! I will come to tea without any. I can't go on thanking you by letter, but so soon as ever the arrangement for outfit can be made I can do so in person. I am in *training* and I think with success, but if I

could train a broken down body, as I can train my mind, I should be another Sayers or Heenan.

Please remember me to Mrs Brown and it is both *your faults* that you have so accustomed me to your letters and society as to create a void when deprived of them. Remember me kindly, too, to the Bishop—and Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

The next letter is one of the first of many the Rajah wrote to Mrs Brown. With her he was usually in a lighter mood than with Miss Burdett Coutts (as will be seen later he pandered to her passion for riddles), but in this letter, which might have been written of our slums to-day, he shows himself once again as a lover of his less fortunate fellow-beings, this time not those of Sarawak but of England.

It is not unlikely that the area to which the Rajah refers was Novia Scotia Gardens, at that time one of the most appalling slums of the East End. Charles Dickens called Miss Burdett Coutts's attention to it and about this time she must have been making plans for building on that site Columbia Square, a model housing scheme which, when completed in 1862, provided accommodation for two hundred families.

Brighton,

15 July, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I have an impulse to write a Sunday sermon arising out of an interrupted conversation about washing tubs, and dust pans. Your arguments, lightly treated at the time, have been seriously considered since, and here is my conclusion—The "Ruins" over which you long hovered were the miserable abodes of working men—unwholesome, crowded, filthy dens, in which the man laboured and the woman slaved, amid her neglected family. Decent habits were next to impossible, self-respect was lost, coarse work, gross pleasures and a losing struggle against surrounding filth, over-tasked the body, and degraded the mind. Abodes the hotbeds of a Communism of vice, as well as of wretchedness. Now look at the other picture—A well directed beneficence raises up a Palace! but then the Palace is divided into many chambers, *suitable* for the habitation of the working man and his family. The independence of the man is not trenched upon, he pays for the conveniences he commands, and the drudgery of his wife and daughters is lightened. By good arrangement they are spared duty to it and can thus devote their

attention to the comforts of home and to the virtue which stands next to Godliness. Self-respect follows, and the influences around all tends to raise and not to depress—Nay, more, for the economy of labour enables the members of the family to add the mite of their industry to the common stock. There is a rise in the Social scale. Instead of drudges working in dens, and dragged down to depravity, we have a decent family in which self-respect is the guarantee for virtue. The parents are respectable and the children follow their example. Independence, a comfortable home, cleanliness, a moderate leisure and freedom from dirty drudgery (the misfortune and not the necessity of their lot) will as surely raise the working class, as effect follows cause. I am just *as certain* of this, as I am that the world has a supreme ruler, for we must not doubt *any principle* which reason has established as truth, nor must we falter in our convictions, even in cases where the result is not at first what we desire. There are causes to disturb Truth, as well as the planets, and we shall find a slight perturbation, to fix an eternal Rule.

Independence however is at the root of this work, and it must not be confounded with any *Charitable* Institution, which commences with dependence and ends too often with laziness and vice. Please pardon this discourse, but you know you *provoked it* and on Saturday I was uttering commonplaces, and thinking that London was all Company and no Society!! I shall be in town tomorrow and hope to find you unsurrounded, for I wanted to say to “the Lady” as well as I could the impression left on my mind by our drive.—My sister desires her kind regards. . . .

In view of the family feud that was to follow, the next letter, a copy or draft of one the Rajah wrote to Captain Brooke, is important for the Rajah’s unequivocal definition of his position as ruler of Sarawak.

8th August, 1860.

MY DEAR BROOKE,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st June and will with a few remarks dismiss the subject of past negotiations. I was not surprized at your differing from me in opinion, but at your deliberately assenting to important measures, and afterwards ruining them by your retraction. It is past—Thus every arrangement, political and personal, which I attempted is at an end. You must continue to administer the government, and send

me as formerly regular monthly reports of passing events and yearly a financial statement of revenue and expenditure. Act upon the principles I have laid down, and let Sarawak resemble India in no single respect, more particularly in becoming a military government. Do not introduce a European element of strength to control but to protect the people, and draw the natives more and more around you. I am very desirous of hearing the steps taken relative to Brunai and Muka: Let there be peace if peace be possible, for St John's view is founded upon experience and may be right.¹

And now, my dear Brooke, I may assure you of my love and reliance upon your integrity, but if we differ, I must govern, and if I cannot guide your measures, I must return to carry out my own policy. My intentions of future retirement must be left to my decision and your ability to carry out the terms: In the meanwhile you must administer the government as my Deputy, or I must take the reins into my own hands. I have always told you, you could not whilst I lived be free of my control, whether exercised as Rajah or Rajah Tuah,² nor can you ever "choose your own line of policy," as you now write. You must trust to my love and my judgment, and in due time, I propose formally to transfer the government, but not to confer upon you any power to act independently of me. Your letter calls for these remarks etc., etc., etc., and I rejoice to hear you consider Sarawak secure. It will please me still more, if you report that confidence has been restored and apprehension passed from the native mind.

J. BROOKE.

13 *Park Circus,*
Glasgow,
 23 *August* [1860].

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Your labours will be over today—mine too or as good as over. My heart is light. Is it not strange?

I am going to Greenock in an hour, but though every thing is ready and she—i.e. *Rainbow*—was to have started today on her voyage, I shall detain her on account of the unsettled state of the weather. I run no risks. A hen with a solitary hopeful chick could not be more careful.

¹ St John had pointed out the loyalty the Sultan and his nobles had shown the Rajah in the past and had counselled conciliatory measures.

² i.e. Old Rajah, the customary Malay title for a ruler who has handed over the administration to his successor.

The other affair¹ will be well settled, I think. They talk of no Trust. Mr T[empler]'s conduct is as strange as ever—my legal adviser calls it shuffling.

Yours ever,

J. BROOKE.

13 Park Circus,

Glasgow,

24 August, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I want £700 more to my credit with the British Linen Company Bank paid into Messrs Smith, Payne and Smiths, Lombard Street, and Mr Bates apprizing me of the payment. I must *oblige you* and you manage so that I like to be obliged, but this I hope will cover all expenses—and they have run up here. The vessel sails tomorrow positively and she has every thing she requires—In haste,

Ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

Sunday, 26 August [1860].

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

The flag of Sarawak floated proudly over the waters of the Clyde and the Rainbow disappeared for the Western Hemisphere—which being interpreted means that the Steamer sailed yesterday (25th) for Sarawak. May God speed her. It is a great comfort and relief and I hope soon to be back.

I am under the care of the Old Lady—a basin of soup directly I arrived! but this temptation will not keep me.

My kind remembrances to Miss C——. I send a Bother for your Botany—I was looking for this little flower at Penzance without success.

Pray what is [it]? I long to be back.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

NAME OF THE FLOWER

My first is the organ of sight.

My second—sparkling and light.

My whole is my Heart's delight.

J. B.

¹ The matter of the testimonial; there had been talk of creating a trust, to which the Rajah objected. Mr Templer had been telling people that the Rajah was mad and his disloyal conduct caused the breaking of a long friendship.

Apparently the ladies guessed the answer, for a few days later the Rajah wrote enclosing some more dried flowers "as a reward for ladies more clever at riddles than Botany." Shortly afterwards he sent Mrs Brown another riddle and then, with some pressed forget-me-nots, a set of verses.

FROM LAVINGTON DOWN

My first is an organ oft playing by night.
My second youth's laughter in festive delight.
My whole the wild tribute of Lavington Height.
With the White Cliffs of Albion gleaming in sight.

TO THE LADIES OF HOLLY LODGE

FORGET me not—Forget me not,
How sad the words appear.
Can friends beloved be ere forgot
Though absent many a year?

Forget me not—Forget me not,
Though Mem'ry be a pain
If thou forget or art forgot
These flowers I send in vain.

White Lackington,
25 Sep', 1860.

Burrator,
Tavistock,
31st September, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I got home to dinner upon Saturday, and Sunday was a bright day. There is much here to attract and soothe. It is a tub Diogenes might be pleased with, and next to *my home* in the vicinity of London, this is my Retreat—

The world forgetting, by the world forgot.

Now I want to give you an extract from an imaginary journal of great events—

"Waterloo Bridge Station at 10.30—from Holly Lodge. Took our seats (i.e. St John and myself) comfortably—who should open the door but Mr Babbage—glad to see him—Phiz—whiz—off went the train—Talked of our friends first—not a single falsehood whether in praise or blame—Then diverged to philosophy—Calculating machine and barrel organs, besides a

touch of Garibaldi—The Emperor and the Pope—St John wondered when the Pope would fly—the Emperor die or Garibaldi lose a battle—or be hung for his services to mankind!—So pleasantly to Basingstoke—Train stopped—Stop here Sir, for five minutes—Out I jumped and, fond as Pepys or Pickwick of observing the passing scene, lounged leisurely to the head of our train—Lo! off it went—no time to regain the carriage—so with alacrity and presence of mind, opened the door of a 2nd class carriage, and was safely carried away—Comrades laughed at the unceremonious intrusion—I laughed too, conscious of having *done it cleverly*, and so complacently rode to Winchester, where I leisurely descended with intent of getting into my own carriage—It was gone—vanished—The rear part of the train *had stopped*, and I had travelled away from it, by the Portsmouth Express!! Hurry and Distraction at Bishopstoke—telegraphed to my lost friends and luggage—all gone—I was alone—Proceeded to Salisbury—Waited 3 hours—To Cathedral service and inspection one hour and a half—Heard a charming anthem—did much to reconcile me to my sad plight—Walk—dinner—off again and at 8 p.m. reached Yeovil—Joined St John and luggage—even Frederick wore a demure cheerfulness on his face, at my masterly agility and misadventure—Vowed in future to be left behind rather than be hurried by a Railway train—More dignity—Carriage waiting—only 12 miles to drive—Night dark—rain in torrents—carriage stops—Road lost—Turn—Bump against the wall—Pole snapped short off—Sit quietly for 2 hours—Fresh carriage—fresh start—fresh loss of way—Weary but resigned—and nearly 1 A.M. got an entrance into White Lackington.”

Here the journal ends abruptly, the writer no doubt having retired to rest—

I have nothing more to tell. And what have the ladies been about? What are they about now? and when do they mean to write to me? Farewell.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

It was as though the sailing of the *Rainbow* had lifted a load of care from the Rajah's heart. He was in a gay mood and wrote to ask Mrs Brown “Why is the potato disease caused by the Earth's motion?” adding “This is warranted new and good.” This was followed by more verses to acknowledge to “the Woodbine and Cherrypie which Mrs Brown sent with dedicating lines.”

THE Rajah knows each tender flower
 That perfume sheds at Holly Bower.
 Heliotrope and Woodbine sweet
 Above his head, or at his feet,
 And Mignonette more good than gay
 Retaining fragrance far away—
 Remembrance of such pleasant hours
 Revives at sight of these sweet flowers—
 Which silent speak, in Verse or Prose,
 Of absent friends the Rajah knows.

Burrator,
 1st Oct., 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I wrote to the Missus an account of the state of affairs in Sarawak. There is nothing to make me uneasy *now*. I know the truth and, though slightly inconvenient, there is satisfaction in the fact, that with economy the balance of £500 a month may be realized over the ordinary expenses of government. It takes away all excuse for running into arrear but the truth is, that the Tuan Muda has been careless, and extravagant upon public improvements, and kept in the dark and misled by the Treasurer—whether from dishonesty, or guilty neglect, has yet to be discovered. *Now* the Treasurer is an honest man, and the system can be put into working order and errors amended.

Today we have a *fuss* upon the laying the first stone of our school—I have opened my house for a Tea and cakes, for all comers—I don't like it, but I hope some of them may. This is a *duty I-owe* to Society!

Farewell.

Ever sincerely yours,
 J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
 Tavistock,
 12th October, 1860.

MADAM! ! !¹

The Undersigned positively prohibits any more riddles, conundrums, charades, or any other distracting exercises of the brain being sent to him, at the same time reserving the right of asking, though refusing to answer, or even to guess at such puzzles. The undersigned decisively and determinately "gives it

¹ To Mrs Brown.

up" at once, and freely gives and grants the right of guessing, surmizing and puzzling to all his friends and acquaintances, whether at Holly Lodge or at the Court of St James's.

J. BROOKE.

Given at our Retreat this twelfth day of October, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

Thank you for those clever answers to my riddles, which I have forgotten all about, though no doubt they were good. *Without offence* I have thought it best in a matter of such importance, to record officially and formally, my sentiments. It is a diversion for an unquiet mind. St John is with me, or I should have been at Holly Lodge—It is not good for me to be alone when anxious. This is my retreat—that my refuge.—How is the dear Lady Missus!! Do not go to Edinburgh just yet, if you have such a fine morning as it is here. Upon Monday I shall get my letters—St John is as uneasy as I am myself, but both resolutely bent upon remedying mischief if it have occurred.

Kind remembrances—

Yours ever sincerely,

J. B.

Burrator,

Tavistock,

13 October, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I delight in the powers of Nonsense and beg you will never cease when in the mood.

So! Miss C. laughed at my confession of Forgetfulness! I positively deny the fact and the inference, but I sincerely agree that in her conviction that all will come right in Sarawak although the process be painful and I have not got accustomed to playing yet. St John leaves me tomorrow for the F. Office. I will ask him to call at H. Lodge. If the news be ugly I must follow him. In haste and with kind regards to your party,

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER IV

SHARIF MUSHHUR'S PLOT

November, 1860—September, 1861

The Rajah receives news of a plot to kill the white population of Sarawak—The extraordinary action of Mr Edwardes, Governor of Labuan—The Rajah sails for Sarawak—The arrival of the *Rainbow* in Singapore—The Rajah travels in her to Sarawak—Demonstrative welcome from his people—News that Sharif Mushhur has strengthened his forts at Muka—Miss Burdett Coutts enlists the help of *The Times*—John Delane's opinion of Rajah Brooke—The Sultan of Bruni receives him cordially—The British Government recalls Mr Edwardes—The Rajah leads a Sarawak force to Muka—He finds H.M.S. *Charybdis* on the scene—Mushhur surrenders the fort—Captain Brooke appointed Rajah Muda—The Rajah returns to England.

THE news to which the Rajah referred turned out to be ugly indeed. The conspiracy which had led to the murder of Fox and Steele had been smouldering and at last had burst into flames. The events which followed are described in the unpublished document, corrected in the Rajah's hand, from which I have already quoted:

In October the Bishop of Labuan received intelligence from Mr Young, a missionary at Landu, that the Sibuyan Dyaks were incited to murder the white men, or themselves threatened with the same fate, unless they did so and turned Mohomedans. This was also reported to the Revd William Gomez by one of his native Catechumens. It became also known that Hadji Gapore, a deposed minister and a relation of Sheriff Mushahor,¹ was inciting the Sarawak Dyaks to kill the white population. The plan was to attack the magazine in the dead of the night, to fire the town, then to fall on, and murder the Europeans, who, it was supposed, would as usual run to extinguish the flames, and so fall easy victims. Mr Johnson banished Hadji Gapore to Singapore, sparing his life only on account of his being related to some of the staunchest friends of the Government. Hadji Gapore was maintained at Singapore by the Government for security. This plot, it was fully ascertained, originated with the Sheriff Mushahor.

Great alarm was naturally caused among the English residents, several

¹ The correct spelling (following R. J. Wilkinson) is Sharif Mushhur. *Sharif* (Arabic "noble") is the title given to a descendant of the Prophet. Mushhur is a common Arabic name.

Missionaries and others retired from the Country: no man felt safe: for none knew the extent of the plot nor could distinguish between friend and foe. The Government officers were discharged; for they found the confidence created by long years of labour, anxiety and kindly intercourse between Englishmen and Natives shaken in a moment. Many of the piratical head-hunting Dyaks, who were being slowly but securely weaned from their evil ways, and induced to trade and plant, retired to their fastnesses and led astray by cunningly devised stories, again defied the Sarawak Government.

In January 1860 an Imposter who called himself the Pangeran Tumanggong of Brunai (that is, heir to the throne of Brunai) appeared with a small boat at Sadong, having started from Serekei, Mushahor's residence. He was there acknowledged by Bandar Kussim a relation of Hadji Gapore, who was in the plot and supplied him with clothes, arms and boats. Having succeeded in levying heavy contributions from the simple Dyaks, he passed into the Dutch territory with a following of from three to four hundred Malays and Dyaks, and with the avowed object of inducing the Chiefs of Landak, Sangon and Pontiana, to murder the Dutch; then to return and make an end of the English in Sarawak. Sheriff Mushahor had previously forged letters purporting to be from the Pangeran Tumanggong, and addressed to all the principal Malays in Sarawak and the coasts, calling on them to exterminate Europeans wherever found.

Shortly after his landing at Sangon his party was attacked and he was arrested by the Dutch Resident. He confessed he was an agent of Mushahor's sent to incite the people to murder all the Europeans, and was sent a prisoner to Batavia. These circumstances the Dutch authorities communicated to the Government of Sarawak.

About the time that this man Tunjang carried his plans into execution, the *Hadji Gapore* secretly sailed from Singapore and landed at Pontiana, to organize a second branch of the Conspiracy. His departure was discovered by Mr Grant of Sarawak, then at Singapore, to the Dutch Consul who telegraphed it to Batavia, whence a steamer was despatched to Pontiana, where Hadji Gapore was arrested on arriving. The third branch of the Conspiracy was conducted by Mushahor himself. He appeared in the Sarawak river with two large "prhaus" crowded with men, under pretence of bringing money up to the town. Mr Johnson, who was on the eve of starting for Sadong with a force to quell the insurrection of Tunjang there, summoned a Council, and it was immediately decided that Mushahor should be ordered to return to his own place of residence, Serikei. This, he probably delayed to do, but followed Mr Johnson to Sadong and anchored in that River. It was while ascending the Sadong that Mr Johnson fully ascertained without a doubt that the Sheriff's real object in coming to Sarawak was to murder the English, and, after consulting the Malays around him, determined to attack the Sheriff's boat. He fell down the river; and anchoring between her and the shore, warned her crew, that he should open fire, and that those who were faithful to the Government might land. Most of them did so. The boat was then sunk with round shot: the Sheriff

and some of his people escaping into the jungle¹: whence, a few days after they fled to Muka and one of the chiefs taken prisoner on this occasion, admitted that their design was to kill the white men, saying it was of no use to conceal it further.

The whole plan of rapine and murder was thus everywhere defeated. The imposter, who personated the real Tumanggong, was arrested by the Dutch authorities and with Gapore is now a prisoner in Java.

Nothing further occurred till March, (1860). In that month Mr Johnson received a letter from Abang Ali of Serekei, one of the Chiefs who had left Mushahor's boat, informing him that Sheriff Mushahor had again returned to Serekei, that the Serekei people had all run away, that the country was in the most disturbed state; Abang Ali begging him to come quickly to restore order. Mr Johnson, with his usual activity, started for the Rejang and found Serekei deserted. This place was burned, contrary to Mr Johnson's order, by the Dyak stragglers who had followed the Ballah, or force. They also burned Tgan where Mushahor had fled, and several detached houses belonging to the Tgan people who had deserted these places, as also the Fort belonging to the Sarawak Government at Serekei and indeed all they could lay hands on; and some of the Tgan people who had joined Mushahor were killed in this irregular manner by the Dyaks. They were strictly speaking within the Sultan's territory but Tgan was Mushahor's residence.

At Tgan, Mushahor had collected around him a nest of desperadoes. It became necessary that the leaders of the Sarawak force, in order to re-establish security, should follow up the murderers of their countrymen beyond the Sarawak boundary as, under similar circumstances, they had entered the Dutch territory, the Dutch admitting that such a proceeding was unavoidable.

Mushahor and his followers were meanwhile cordially received by the Pangeran Dipa² at Muka. The town was put into a state of defence, the river blockaded, and the trade with Sarawak—a most important one on every account—entirely stopped. This measure was productive of great loss and difficulty. Twenty-five large Sarawak vessels were lying close to the Muka river, forbidden to enter it. The Sago trade, upon which the prosperity of Sarawak depends, was stopped, and several factories, particularly those of the Borneo Company, who have recently sent to England for expensive machinery, suffered greatly. A boat from Muka chartered by a native of India (British subject) was forbidden to enter the river under heavy penalties. Thus, then, British subjects are held as hostages, their fate being as yet unknown.

In the meantime the Pangeran Tumanggong wrote a most friendly letter to Mr Johnson, repudiating the acts of Pangeran Dipa, who has

¹ A report written by Mr W. Chalmers, of the Sarawak Mission, to the Bishop of Labuan, states that "none of Johnson's followers dared to aim at the individual life of so sacred and powerful a person as the Serif."

² Who shortly afterwards married Mushahor's pretty sister, as Mr Chalmers's report states.

taken thus upon himself the responsibility of aiding the murderers, and of stopping the Sarawak trade, but he is probably only a puppet in the hands of abler and more powerful men, who wish to impose the system of monopoly which exists in all the districts under Brunai rule, towards whom the Government of Sarawak has always maintained its engagements with good faith, suppressing at a cost of life and money the piracy of certain tribes, and protecting the Sultan's territory from their ravages. Whilst, however, the murderers of Englishmen are harboured in the Sultan's dominions it will be impossible to maintain these friendly relations and, as a natural consequence, all the ill disposed and more ferocious tribes will be encouraged to ravage the coast. The trade of Sarawak, which is in reality the trade of England, must under such circumstances cease.

While these events were passing Mr Consul-General St John arrived at Sarawak (in March) and made inquiries that thoroughly satisfied him of Mushahor's guilt in connection with the murder of Messrs Fox and Steele. Mr St John thereupon wrote to the Sultan of Brunai requesting that Mushahor should be given up to the Sarawak Government. As the Consul-General was departing for England and as his duties were delegated to Mr Edwardes, the Governor of Labuan, the communication was sent to that gentleman to be forwarded: but Mr Edwardes, having already been deceived into the belief of the Sheriff's innocence, took upon himself the very grave responsibility of suppressing the letter.

However all the difficulties and dangers appeared likely to be brought to an end. The conspiracy had been crushed, the Insurgents at Muka alone remaining, and the Tumanggong soon after informed Mr Johnson (who had also written to the Sultan) that the Muka river was to be opened and the trade resumed. Whereupon Captain J. Brooke Brooke (who had meanwhile resumed the administration of Sarawak) set out with three gunboats to convoy the Sago-trading vessels up the river to Muka. Captain Brooke, instead of finding the trade resumed, found the entrance to the river staked. He however sent into the town a friendly request that the trade should be continued as usual. No answer was returned, and Captain Brooke, perceiving that earthworks were being thrown up on shore to command the channel, ordered a "Sampan" to take soundings. The Sampan was fired upon. The three gunboats then entered the river, the banks of which were strongly fortified, the reach being commanded by several huge stockades lined with bags of Sago and mounting an immense number of guns. Below these forts Captain Brooke ran up a stockade and Mr Johnson passed up the river in one of the gunboats, sticking fast, however, on a large beam stretched across the stream. For an hour he lay under a heavy fire¹ from the largest of the Muka forts. The gunboat returned the fire, killing three Pangerans, one of whom was Dipa's younger brother. At length, finding that the enemy's forts were too strong², Captain Brooke

¹ Of round shot, small cannon balls, and tenpenny nails. No one was touched except a European sailor, who received a scratch on his face—Chalmers.

² One fort alone is said to have contained 300 fighting men. *Ibid.*

sent to Sarawak for reinforcements and on obtaining them a sort of siege was commenced. The enemy's fortresses were surrounded by Sarawak forts on the landward side, and the Muka people were cut off from water and supplies. A floating battery mounting a twelve-pounder was also ready to attack the main fort from the river, in short everything promised decisive success, when Her Majesty's Indian Steamer *Victoria* suddenly and unexpectedly appeared upon the scene, having on board Mr Edwardes, the Governor of Labuan, who in the Queen's name proclaimed a general truce. At the same moment Sheriff Mushahor himself appeared at Muka!¹

Mr Edwardes, on being appealed to respecting this surprising interference, would hear nothing, and threatened to fire on the people of Sarawak who still wished to proceed with the attack after Captain Brooke had retired. He pronounced Mushahor to be completely innocent, made several wild and vague accusations against the Sarawak Government,² and ordered Captain Brooke to draw off the Sarawak force; at the same time pledging himself that the Muka trade should be reopened and the enemy's forts pulled down.

Captain Brooke, unwilling to risk a collision, induced the Sarawak people to desist. Consequently the Sarawak force retired discomfited, and notwithstanding the truce ordered by the Governor of Labuan, the enemy still continued their fire from the forts, doing happily no damage. Mr Edwardes left next day without making any arrangements for the continuance of the trade, or accomplishing the demolition of a single fort.

Every European in Sarawak was aghast at Governor Edwardes's action. The blow to the State's prestige was extremely serious and Mr Chalmers's despatch to the Bishop is full of foreboding for the future.

"Governor Edwardes himself," he declared, "is in the distinguished position of a Protector, Privy Councillor and Abettor to the ruthless slaughter of Englishmen. Nay, yet further stigmatized himself as *de facto* accessory to the murder of Missionaries, traders and other British subjects, for God alone knows what fate is yet in store for Sarawak with a bloody-minded powerful villain like Massahur established close on our frontier to stir up and assist all the smooth-tongued cut-throat scoundrels who yet remain among us. But our help is in the name of the Lord! and if justice is to be had at home I trust we may yet weather the storm. . . .

"The whole of the disturbed Dyak districts are in a blaze (Massahur sent a spear throughout them) and the Sarebas Sadok Dyaks have been supplied with powder and fire-arms. They are out in force, while the Sarawak forces were lying at Muka, Talib (Massahur's follower and Steele's murderer) with Sakalai and Sawing—both of whom escaped Johnson's vengeance—aided by a body of Kyans, attacked and took Katibus, and

¹ And spread a report that the British steamer had come to support him against the Sarawak Government. *Ibid.*

² He accused the Sarawak Government of having caused the death of 50,000 natives in establishing themselves on the coast. *Ibid.*

burnt fourteen villages of the Katibus Dyaks, killing more than thirty people. . . .

“If the Home Government support the Governor of Labuan they had better at the same time send a steamer to bring off their British subjects in Sarawak.”

When Lord John Russell, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, received Governor Edwardes's despatch and a counter-statement from Captain Brooke, together with an appeal from the Europeans and principal native chiefs of Sarawak, he expressed his disapproval of Governor Edwardes's action and thanked Captain Brooke for withdrawing from Muka as he had. He accepted Spenser St John's offer to return to Borneo at once, although he left the responsibility as to the action to be taken on St John's shoulders.

As soon as the Rajah learnt the facts he determined to go out to Sarawak with St John.

“The time of action once come,” he wrote Miss Burdett Coutts, “I am too old a gambler to throw a trick away.” As ever, she supported him, helping him to procure second-hand guns together with powder, shells and rockets, and promising him further loans should he need them.

[London.]

10 November, 1860.

DEAR MISS C.,

The £500 you mentioned would be useful and I should like to have it.

2nd. My nephew was permitted to draw upon me at 4 months for £1000—if *absolutely necessary*. My solicitors would know the holder of the bill and an arrangement should be made to enable them to meet it, should it come to hand.

3rd. In case I wanted money at this crisis, or for the purposes you spoke about, upon whom should I draw?

These are the points for arrangement.

Yours ever,
J. B.

My solicitors are

Messrs Booty and Butt,
1 Raymond Buildings,
Grays Inn, W.C.

Before he sailed the Rajah wrote the following dramatic appeal to his fellow-countrymen. Whether or no he intended it to be published is not clear: it appears as a fragment amongst Miss Burdett Coutts's papers, the handwriting showing the stress of emotion under which it was written:

“At the proper time the people of Sarawak will appeal to the British Queen and nation for justice—British subjects will seek

from the government of their country redress, and protection from outrage and in the meanwhile I call upon my countrymen for their active support to avert the calamities likely to befall Sarawak from the act of a British officer and a British man-of-war. I return to Sarawak to do my duty and I beseech the nation to be true to the principles of justice and humanity and the cause of good government—I appeal to every just sentiment and every generous heart, in behalf of the people of Sarawak.”

The following letter from Mr Thomas Fairbairn describes the Rajah's departure and comments shrewdly on the difficulties with which he had to contend.

22 *Adelaide Crescent,*
Brighton,
 26th November [1860].

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I saw the Rajah sail in the *Pera*, and spent his last night in England with him at Southampton.

It quite rejoiced my heart to find the Rajah so well and in such good spirits. There was the old gaiety—hope, confidence and self-reliance—and I do most firmly believe that this visit to Sarawak will not only produce a great moral and political benefit in the settlement, but will strengthen the health and revive the loftiest aspirations of our friend. If he sees his way to return to England within twelve or eighteen months then I feel persuaded his health will not have suffered by the fatigues and anxieties of the trip—and if this speedy return to his friends here be not granted to him, can we wish better for him than to see that gallant and truthful heart still struggling to advance the one great purpose of his life—and that purpose one of the noblest most daring and self-denying of which history affords any record. God protect him, I say from my heart, and God speed the enterprise which is his and almost his alone!

Very serious questions are raised, and British influence is strangely compromised, by the recent proceedings of the Governor of Labuan. I am most anxious to see the Duke of Newcastle,¹ who cannot have read all the papers on the subject before Sir James's departure, and to ascertain from him what course of conduct the Home Government is likely to take. I think Mr St John appeared satisfied with the instructions he had received from the Foreign Office and if these only embrace an authority for him to recognize the Government of Sarawak as an

¹ The Colonial Secretary.

independent Government a most important advance will have been gained. But if the Governor who has inflicted so grave a wrong upon the people of Sarawak be not removed, or at least reprimanded in some manner which the natives will readily understand, then I fear it will want all the influence of the Rajah to make the people believe that the government of Great Britain does not approve its representatives' acts.

Believe me to be

Very faithfully,

THOMAS FAIRBAIRN.

Cairo,

4th December, 1860.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I sent my letters to Mrs Brown the day before the *Pera* reached Alexandria, and already have we accomplished another stage of our progress. An unpleasant railway journey of nine hours brought us to this place. Half way the conflicting armies encountered—The Indian division reached the station for refreshment first, and had nearly devoured the luncheon provided *gratis*, when the English division attacked their position. Fierce was the conflict on the one side to hold, and on the other to gain, the dishes—Charges in mass, varied by single combats, took place over legs of mutton and Camel chops, omelettes and Irish stews—with doubtful success, till the bell sounded a retreat and the Indian force sullenly mustered its numbers and vanished with a whistle and a whiz, leaving the battle field and a barren waste to the British. My share was a saucer full of Irish stew snatched at great risk, and eaten in *great haste*, and I trust I shall be excused upon the plea that self-preservation is a law of our nature. *Some ladies* of my acquaintance would starve amid the plenty of Goshen and the corn of Egypt, simply because they have never travelled at the Pasha's expense, or learned to eat at railway pace surrounded by active marauders. I cannot write of father Nile and his fertility of power, his rise and his fall like the "funs," his green belt, which girds the hungry desert, and so draws tighter and tighter as bad governors and rapacious administrators, pray upon the poor and roguish fellah—poor and roguish because oppressed. Rapacity begets misery, and misery begets Vice. This is the bane of Egypt in my sight and to my sense. There is ancient association and modern interest, a delicious clime, a life of ease but poisoned by the presence of

squalor and want and wrong. I have looked again at the beauties and defects of the city and environs. To-morrow we depart for Suez, whence this letter shall be despatched, but I enclose a sprig of myrtle and jessamine to greet the Holly at the Lodge and to remind the fair owners of the friend who wanders further and further in body, but whose mind is with them very, very often. Farewell.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Mrs Brown would not like Egypt—we must not think of persuading her to visit it! !

In the following letter to Mrs Brown, Spenser St John continues the narrative of the voyage.

Off Aden,
December 10, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

You will be pleased to hear that our journey has had no bad effect upon us—the Rajah is looking remarkably well, though he was rather fatigued by his four days in Egypt: however he is looking very well again notwithstanding the hot day we had yesterday. He is great at Chess also and he and I in partnership have just defeated the two best players on board. We are engaged in a very hot discussion about table-turning and Spirit rapping, and there is a lady opposite, who with her companion, actually made an immense table move and at last it got so excited as to chase the owner, Brigadier I., out of his own dining room, down the passage, and to the great door; there it was fixed, being unable to pass through. The lady, I thought, was rather excited, not to say angry, about our unbelief, but on questioning her, she denied being either *excited or angry*. I tried your specific, saying it must be an invention of the Jesuits, but notwithstanding this truly Protestant affirmation I am looked upon as an infidel not to say worse.

We are looking forward with some impatience to the termination of our journey—I have been talking over with the Rajah the course we are to pursue; he looks upon the Instructions¹ as very hostile to Sarawak, but I cannot think they are; they give him perfect liberty of action, the Govt. only refusing a responsibility which they cannot undertake unless the Rajah were one of their

¹ i.e. St John's instructions from the Foreign Office. They were elastic and left him a free hand to act with the Rajah as he thought best.

own officers. I feel however there is a great want of candour in the course the Govt. are pursuing; they are very fair when talking matters over, very overcautious when writing. I think I shall act on the conversation I had with Lord John Russell, and then report home fully and leave it to them to approve or disapprove at their pleasure. The latter they will never do.

We are all sitting writing letters—the Rajah also—but we are so laughing at the lady's table-turning stories that our compositions will be very absurd.

I will let you know how we progress. I think everything can be so settled as to enable the Rajah to leave by next November, but we shall be more certain when we reach Singapore.

With kind remembrances to Miss Coutts,

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

SPENSER ST JOHN.

The Rajah reached Singapore on January 1, 1861. Spenser St John, writing to Miss Burdett Coutts on the day of their arrival, reported him looking stronger than when he had left England. The warm climate had done him good. All was well in Sarawak, and although the sago trade had fallen from 6,000 tons in 1859 to 2,000 in 1860, on the whole less mischief appeared to have followed Mr Edwardes's interference than might have been expected. The Rajah accordingly decided to wait in Singapore for the arrival of the *Rainbow* so that he might take her to Sarawak in person. Every day he became more anxious about her, even though the full five months allowance for her passage round the Cape was not yet complete.

The letters he wrote Miss Burdett Coutts from Singapore show that depression still clouded his spirit. The conviction that Sarawak had been betrayed by the British Government seems to have obsessed him: his pride had never recovered from the wound the Commission had inflicted on it. St John did not share his forebodings. "I must confess that I don't at all agree with the Rajah about the future of Sarawak," he wrote to Miss Burdett Coutts. "The dangers are somewhat imaginary, and let his lieutenants but bravely meet dangers as they have as yet met them, and let him adopt as a motto 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof' and all will be well." But the Rajah, sick with frustrated hope, turned his thoughts now to the need of establishing Sarawak's political independence, now back again to the need of obtaining support for his country from without.

Singapore,

3rd January, 1861.

Private (as regards the despatches of Govt.)

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Upon New Year's day we landed here. A good omen! and many and many a happy return of the season I wished you

then and wish you now—not stupid indiscriminate wishes for numerous years, but a rational aspiration that you may both live enjoying and conferring happiness till in the fulness of time, a gentle slumber succeeds to the duties, the cares and the sufferings of life. I desire for my friends, as for myself, a useful life and a peaceful death. I have a great many things to say not belonging to the public affairs, but I must postpone them for the present, and endeavour to give you the account I have myself received of the proceedings in Sarawak.

First, the representations of the Chamber of Commerce and the mercantile community induced the Governor of the Straits to send the Victoria Steamer to Sarawak and thence back again to Muka with an officer of that Government aboard. The object was to carry out the terms made with the Governor of Labuan. So far as I learn however the Forts were not dismantled, and trade was still refused to Sarawak. The produce in part, it seems, finds its way there in neutral bottoms, and the people, in spite of their chiefs, will not be long in finding out that trade is necessary to Muka more than to Sarawak.

For the rest every thing was going on quietly and prosperously, and I am confirmed in the opinion that, the pending questions settled, there will be an impetus given to the country and an increased confidence resulting from success. We are daily expecting further intelligence.

4th *Jan*y. I had just written the above when my nephew walked into the room—What remains to be added is merely *report*. Sheriff Mushahor was most insolent during his interview with the commander of the steamer and a word of disrespect it was judged would have cost the English party their lives. It is said likewise that in consequence of the first orders to Mr Edwardes from his government, the Sultan of Borneo called Sheriff Mushahor to the capital, but that the mandate had been evaded. Brooke thinks it probable that Sheriff Mushahor will fight. We have to test the temper of the Brunai government and upon this much will turn. I am glad to add that the movement amongst the Serebas Dayaks, which caused some anxiety, has subsided or been repressed. We now wait the fine season and our arms, and daily look for the *Rainbow* which is nearly due. What votive offerings, what gifts to Saint or Priest would I not make could I only manage to believe it would add to her safety or accelerate her movements.

5th *Jan*y. I wrote before that the instructions of the British Government were so ambiguous as to excite distrust. Their

Consul-General is instructed to communicate to the "authorities" of Sarawak that his Government "neither authorized nor approved the proceedings of Mr Edwardes." This is all the message—not a word of reparation or justice for so flagrant an outrage or the subsequent breach of faith—and injury. The rest is, that the British Government will not interfere in any way between Brunai and Sarawak—that it will not assume any sort of Protection over the coast and that the C.G. is not *to side in any way with Sarawak*, but with the consent of both parties he is at liberty to mediate between them! This ends the idea of a *de facto* recognition and envelops future intercourse with an atmosphere of deception calculated to compromise Sarawak—just what was done twelve years ago, would, if accepted, begin again under circumstances more unfavourable and Sarawak is now *completely* and *avowedly* separated from England.

It would be folly to conceal the dangers of such complete isolation—isolation which will tempt conspiracy and revolt within, and aggression from without, with continuant intrigues. The want of security will prevent development or accidental development, will bring risks as great as poverty. There are numberless dangers to which a weak native state must inevitably be exposed and with Sarawak the failure of government would be *anarchy*—without a friend, a single miscarriage or misfortune would bring confusion. Sudden ruin or slow decay, would alike be destruction—and to both of these she must be constantly exposed until she has support from without. To shut our eyes to these self-evident truths, would be to deceive ourselves, and our people. You will understand, I do not write of the present time, for with a favourable settlement of the pending differences with Brunai, and assuming the success of our attack upon Muka, I have already said that confidence will be restored and our prestige increased, but the removal of the existing dangers will not effect the question at large, and with success and confidence will come in the right time to provide for future security, to find some nation who will save our people from the inevitable anarchy which would follow the failure of the existing government. The past and the present preclude the hope of support from England. Little aid indeed is wanted, but that little will not be given—we want bread and get a stone. We want deeds and not words—but we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us, if we trust again and are again deceived by a nation which has just so decisively proclaimed a system of non-intervention. I regard this as a political success, for it practically establishes the

Independence of Sarawak and opens to her a path of safety—Independence combined with security within by means of support from without, seems to me the only course open and the clear duty to our people to avert the dangers to which we have no right to expose them.

1st, Independence. 2nd, Support from any quarter. 3rd, A reserved but not unfriendly attitude towards England—it can become more cordial at her option. Indeed the upshot is that Sarawak should cultivate friendly relations with nations willing to help and respect her freedom. Independent States—large and small—seek friendly alliances and there can be neither wisdom nor safety in taking an exceptional and isolated position, because the British Government has been untrue to its proper obligations. Whether alliance or help could be attained, with whom, or on what terms, I know nothing, but our Independence, the avowed non-intervention of England, and the necessity of some degree of stability to give security, all point to this course. Our first business is to take Muka and sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.

8th January. The mail leaves to-day. I am glad I wrote the above as an outline of the policy I propose. England may then support the Independence of Sarawak and if not our people will have a cushion to fall upon should their government fail. There is breathing-time however—no occasion to precipitate matters and the hope in the interim of increased strength but I must arrange my ideas, ready for action. Enough.

The *Rainbow* not come and she keeps me anxious. I enjoy the climate, however, and certainly have improved since landing. Such vegetation and all these rich forms of foliage claiming acquaintance—and the flowers peeping in the most proud of manner at me from the highways and byeways. My poor nephew has lost his eldest boy and sends his second home. By the opportunity I will try to send some plants to cultivate your friendship—not rich and rare but favourites of mine. By this packet I have sent some gold dust for dear Mrs Brown and yourself—please make it into chain or bracelet.

My best wishes, and ever your sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Singapore,
4th Feby, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I am no longer the victim of the Flagstaff which I have watched for the last month with the feeling that "aspettare e non venire—é cosa fa morire."¹

Upon the 30 January the little *Rainbow* steamed into harbour, all right and all well aboard, after a long but fine weather passage, like the other vessels leaving England at the same time. In a few days we start for Sarawak where they are most anxiously expecting my arrival and my wish will be fulfilled of reappearing amongst my people in the Sarawak steamer *Rainbow*—i.e. the *Kung Palangi*—pronounced Pa-lang-i. It will smooth many a difficulty, give confidence and facilitate communication with Brunai and Singapore.

In my last I think I told you of St John's departure for Brunai, and upon the 1st inst, I had a few lines from him after his first reception. There was no time to form any decided opinion upon the feeling of the government or of the factions of which it is composed, but he says he hopes by a moderate time, and course, on the part of Sarawak, that the untoward state of affairs produced by Mr Edwardes's interference may be reconciled. To this I must just add from myself that exaggerated expectations have been raised, and should a fair settlement of these differences be denied it will be from the intrigues of the Governor of Labuan! I pointed out the dangers of fostering antagonism—now we shall have it. St John is a man fitted to deal with the Sultan and Wazeers but from want of support, he can do little or nothing beyond what he gains from personal influence, and he will be outbid by Mr E.

I propose going to Brunai about the middle of March, and staying till something decisive can be done. I look to the justice of the question, and to the rights of the Sultan and his people, but then a ruler has duties, as well as rights, and a people are not to be dealt with like sheep, to be sold at market, or slaughtered in the shambles—I must refer you to Lord John Russell for a more precise definition of the duties of sovereigns, and the rights of a people. With this preamble I may say then that the district of Muka is undeniably included within the territory of Brunai. It had passed from the authority of the government of the late Sultan, and was reclaimed to it, by my measures

¹ "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

between 1845 and 1850—upon the *express understanding of there being good government and free trade.*

Thus the trade of Sarawak sprang up. Muka belongs to Brunai—but it has been seized by a gang of criminals who have fired upon the flag of Sarawak, murdered her people, and stopped her trade.—The single question has therefore to be asked—Does the Sultan's government support Sheriff Mushahor? If not, it will disown, and order him, with his followers, out of Muka, and failing obedience on his part, leave Sarawak to deal with him. Once clear of this horde of desperadoes we may in a friendly manner discuss the future government and conduct of trade, and all Sarawak will require is a government according to established usage, amongst the people, offering a guarantee for the freedom of trade. I shall be true to the principles I have always acted upon, that good government must be established and encouraged, for the happiness of the people, and the growth of commerce. I am weary of preaching to ears that will not hear, and I shall practise for the short time left, it being, as you know, already evening. I think this will be a just course upon the part of Sarawak, and if it fail we shall thank the British government for and teach Brunai what she need to learn, viz. that government doesn't mean plunder of free trade—monopoly. It will not I trust, come to this extremity.

The relations of Sarawak with England have gone from bad to worse, and the separation between the governments is now complete. Sarawak must be ruined if she continues in an ambiguous position, and she maintains therefore the Independence which is grudgingly conceded, but not formally acknowledged. Nevertheless the government was founded upon the idea of support from a European nation, and it can only flourish when this support is consistently given to advance a common interest. Progress depends upon security, upon which it is dependent.

I do not think that my friends at home sufficiently consider this position—the cry is, let them go on, and something will turn up! good will come of evil—a new generation of statesmen will spring up in England to take a different view of affairs. But what is to happen in the meanwhile in Sarawak? and should the existence and happiness of a people be staked upon such generalities? The better reason is, we run risks because we cannot help it, we prolong the struggle in the hope of security, independently of England if need be, and the principles that the Ruler must never sacrifice his people to his nationality, is at the bottom of

this matter, a duty which Englishmen would applaud me for not performing. I believe English women would not—because they are not accustomed to take a low standard of expediency as their rule of life. However we are tied to the stake and will fight it out; only I say correct principles, and an enlarged view, of our future, must not be lost in the mist of passing events. To feed a skeleton with plum pudding, would be like feeding me with hopes. Confidence is gone, and hope is dead: I may be wrong, but if so let my friends prove it as soon as they can, for our position changes as quickly as a kaleidoscope and always bear in mind, that mere temporary fortune, or misfortune, cannot cure the evil which arises from a want of stability, the key stone of government.

Farewell. I am ashamed of writing this long State paper done in a hurry. Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

Singapore,

6th Feb., 1861.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have tried to write as you wish, freely expressing my views of the present and future of Sarawak, and when I am there I will send the details you want to have, in a shape fitted for the reading of my friends. The arrival of the *Rainbow* is a relief. Tomorrow we start, and then begins my real work. It will be a joy to me to meet my people, who are as anxiously looking forward for my arrival as I am to be amongst them once more. But the pleasure will be transient—the pain permanent. The retrospect of what might have been, and what was, compared to what is, of promises with performance, the betrayal of a noble cause, when the slightest effort would have upheld it, and my conviction of the lot in consequence in store for my people, all fill the cup with bitter, which should have been unmixed gratification. My people are true to me—true to themselves, and there is so much to be thankful for, but poor indeed is the consolation you offer, amid actual evils, viz. that good done is never lost. It may be so—the good may link on some minds to heighten misery. It may bear fruit, but it may not. I feel no comfort or no faith in a distant future, for good as ill. Our responsibility here is for our life time, and it is by fighting whilst we live, that we guide and control events, according to God's will. However,

thanks to you, the good is not lost—we struggle still—there is happiness and prosperity within our mansion, and it is only the master who is fully aware that the foundation is sinking and the vaults filled with gunpowder.

How I long to be at Holly Lodge—duty alone keeps me digging in this sand pit. In the time resolved upon, and so strongly recommended for health sake, I hope to be on my way to England, and the longer I am here the more I feel I am the wrong person to deal with the British government. I was going to write you a long letter in reply to your's of Christmas but the bent of my thoughts was not that way. I am not, as you will see, like a gay bridegroom, proposing to meet the bride of his affections. As I depart to meet my people, I cannot feel buoyant with hope. The future is dark for them and it cannot look bright to me. I can only ask you to forgive this free expression of my thoughts. I might exclaim like Tony Lumpkin that you have spoilt me.

Will the seed of this pretty shrub grow?

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,

19th February, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

In less than three days the *Rainbow* brought us across from Singapore, and on the morning of the 11th we entered the river, where the mountain of Santobong rises abruptly to a height of 3000 feet. It is a scene to look upon with delight, and is the fashionable watering-place. We steamed up at once, thus avoiding the ceremonial prepared for my arrival, but as the steamer neared the Town every boat we met, or overtook, fell into our train and followed us fast as they could paddle—each house upon the bank had its group—many a cry of welcome—many a friendly salutation greeted me—many a smile on many a well known face seemed a memory rather than a reality. It was a scene of confusion—nothing staid or proper—nothing done by programme. The steamer was stopped over and over again to pick up one or another old friend—There is Pangeran Mausein!! Stop her! Let the Imnam come aboard—Stop her! More and more climbing aboard and clinging to the sides—such shaking and kissing of hands, such cordial greetings, till amid confusion worse confounded the steamer was anchored off the Fort, and to clear her decks I was obliged to go ashore! Waving flags, and



From "Views of the Indian Archipelago"

A VIEW FROM THE RAJAH'S BUNGALOW

roaring salutes are vulgar appliances of rank and we had enough and at night there was a pretty illumination of small lights placed in little shells, like clusters of fire-flies reflected in the water, but after all it is the tone, the smile, the grasp which are the tokens I prize of love and loyalty, and if I may judge from my own heart they were indeed glad to see me for how glad was I to see my people?

Once established in my very small cottage I had visits without number, and as it began so it continues for I have been talking and shaking hands ever since. Upon first seeing familiar scenes and places, there was some depression mixed with pleasure as the thought arose of what *ought to have been*, and what was, compared to what is and what is likely to be, but this feeling passed away as I mixed with old friends and spoke of the affairs of the passing day. I was cheerful as the rest—the morrow might take care for itself, whilst the hope and the struggle of the time, absorbed attention. Well is it indeed when the drops of the future do not embitter the draught at our lips—Why mix grapes with our pleasant cup of tea? Yet foresight and precaution are no bad gifts though they do poison present enjoyment. And in the position of this country it is well to look forward and to be prepared. Such has been my subsequent reflection after the first hubbub subsided, and though as yet I can form no judgment I will give you the impression, from observation, and the information I have been able to collect—

1st, The Muka affair has to be won and a *government* established there. This can be done. 2nd, I am convinced the people of Sarawak are with their government, and substantially happy and prosperous, with a future of progress for the country. 3rd, To effect this the government must be supported from without and security and stability impressed. Reasons I need not give here, but enough to say that so long as the existing state of things depends upon two or three lives, there will always be temptation to cut them off and thus to destroy it!

Support is an absolute necessity and the question how long the rulers can postpone an effort to obtain it? 4th, It must be strongly impressed upon every friend of Sarawak, that she cannot exist upon a subterfuge and that an ambiguous position is the root of every evil and danger. A man-of-war to protect British interests is no support to Sarawak. British interests—political and commercial—depend upon the govt of Sarawak, and will rise or fall with it and only so far as Sarawak is supported will British trade be protected. 5th, I enclose the copy of Mr St John's

letter to the Council. It amounts to nothing and just leaves matters where they were before. The reply is not yet written.

6—I suspect an intrigue between Brunai and Sambas against Sarawak—letters and messages have been frequent and with only the object of damaging or destroying a government which acts upon principles opposed to the rapacious rule of native princes.

7—Can we not obtain a straight forward explanation from the British govt? Are the “difficulties” asserted to exist “insuperable”? Can we have candid explanation? If “*insuperable difficulties*” exist it would be well to know them. If not, arrangements might be hit upon to inspire confidence here, to protect Sarawak and so protect British interests. Either way will be well and I repeat Sarawak cannot exist upon a subterfuge. Is it too much to ask a little plain dealing?

I add however that so far as I can perceive, there need be no precipitation and till the Muka affair be settled the government will be in no favorable position to negotiate—There is a *certainty* in my judgment of *ruin in future* without European support, but no immediate danger or pressure. Again the question How long should a settlement be postponed? There are a thousand inducements not to do my duty and prudential considerations to prevent my doing it in haste—but I feel it should be done whilst I live or it will never be done.

25 Feb. Rejoicings continued—one day boat races—another the opening of steam machinery—the third a small dinner party of a thousand of the gentry—high feasting in humble Hall—a ton or more of rice—300 fowl, 2 Bullocks—deer—fish etc., etc.

Tomorrow the *Rainbow* leaves after a thorough refit and cleaning and having a more powerful screw has increased her speed considerably. I am writing in the midst of distractions but I may add that we have news that Sheriff Mushahor and his followers have completely rebuilt and strengthened their forts at Muka—so much for Mr Edwardes’s promises! I do not write to Mrs Brown by this opportunity but pray offer my kind remembrances. I send a seed pod of a pretty blue creeper. You will be glad to hear that I continue well (for me) but I look forward to returning to England at the time fixed, for I feel I shall not be equal to continued exertion and the climate though delicious is exhausting, as are most pleasant things.

Farewell and Believe me very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

P.S. I have postponed my visit to Brunai till April, as during the Fast month no business can be transacted there.

With a view to keeping the Rajah's cause before the public, Miss Burdett Coutts sent a copy of this letter to Mr John Delane, editor of *The Times*, suggesting that he might publish an extract of it. Her letter received this laconic reply:

16 *Serjeant's Inn*,
June 12th, [1861].

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I think you will find that I shall do justice to the Rajah though I do not think him so great or so good a man as you do.

Believe me

Yours faithfully,
JOHN T. DELANE.

On the envelope enclosing the following letter is this note, written in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand:

"An important and interesting letter from Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Rajah of Sarawak. It is an historic document after Miss Burdett Coutts had advanced 5000£."

Sarawak,
25th Feb., 1861.

MY DEAR LADY,

Here in my own country and amid my people I wish to say a few words. I was broken in heart, health and fortune. I looked for death as my relief. Sarawak was struggling and well nigh ruined—you gave me life by giving me hope and your help enabled Sarawak to struggle through difficulties which well nigh overwhelmed her. This is the simple truth. I can add or subtract nothing to it—from it. Words are useless for thanks, but judge in feelings as generously as you judge on most matters. Would the people could know and acknowledge what they owe you! I must be their mouth-piece to say that their present happiness as, I trust, their future security, will be the work of your hands.

My love to dear Mrs Brown. Kindness and sympathy attract me so strongly that I could almost leave undone what I came to do and return—Farewell, ever and ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

The following letter from Earl de Grey (afterwards Marquess of Ripon), Under-Secretary for India, shows Lord John Russell's attitude at this time.

Private

1 *Carlton Gardens, S.W.*,
12 *March, 1861.*

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have ascertained from the Duke of Newcastle that he has recalled Mr Edwardes from Labuan on account of his proceedings in respect to Sheriff Mushahor.

The Duke felt that the opposition, which had sprung up between the policy of Sir James Brook and that of Mr Edwardes, would be injurious to British interests in that part of the World, and he therefore thought it best to remove the latter; but I fear from the tone in which he spoke that he has not much inclination to support Sir James, although he does not approve of his being thwarted.

I must ask you to be good enough to consider this letter as private, as my conversation with the Duke of Newcastle was quite of that character.

I remain
Yours faithfully,
DE GREY.

Sarawak,
25th *March, 1861.*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have received your kind letter of the 4th January and as I have already expressed my views and feelings fully, I may content myself by saying now, that with a kindly intention on the part of the Home government, and an anxious desire to meet its wishes on the part of Sarawak, this long vexed question ought not to be far from a settlement. You advise that the position of the people of Sarawak should be maintained and this is founded upon their Independence. In 1855 it became necessary to decide between Independence and the acknowledgement of the Suzerainty of Brunai—the latter might have obtained a temporary advantage, but the chiefs very firmly declared their Independence. Lord Clarendon in reply told them that the British government neither wished nor intended to interfere with the Independence of Sarawak, and in 1859 Lord John Russell wrote that "Sarawak was welcome to any Independence she could achieve and maintain."

So far as this country and government were concerned, the question was thus decided, and held to have been acquiesced in

by England. There is a very strong spirit amongst the people upon this point—they regard a Dependency upon Brunai as disgraceful and ruinous, and I agree with them, that a civilized government could never depend upon a rapacious monarch, without consequences fatal to the freedom of its people, and the progress of their country. The British subjects connected with Sarawak have only to act openly and honestly in behalf of the people, without reference to their nationality, or national feelings—and I at least would never upon so vital a point, pursue an expedient course or advise the concession of their liberty to such a rule as Brunai. The Independence of Sarawak will be maintained by the Council and people, and their right can no more be questioned than those of other communities.

The case stands as follows—

1st, The people of Sarawak maintain their Independence as of right.

2nd, The British government acquiesced in this right in the first place, and afterwards *incidentally* asserts the Sultan of Brunai to be the “Suzerain of Sarawak” and evidently this assertion is made upon the ground, that the Sultan has ceded to me his claims upon the payment of a fixed sum by each of my heirs.

3—I declare the two titles¹ to be joined in my person—the higher title derived from the people, the lower one a cession of his claims by a monarch having lost *de facto* the rule of the country made to me personally in order to obviate the difficulties belonging to my *position* but not to the position of the people. The Chiefs of Sarawak were no party to this arrangement and do not hold themselves bound by its provisions. I made the agreement, and my successors will be bound by it, but the lower title can never invalidate the inherent and inalienable right, and if incompatible with it, must give way. But a double title is accordant with justice, and convenience, and when it can be shewn that the claim derived through the Stuarts, can set aside the rights conferred by the people of England upon the House of Hanover—then the cession made to me by an effete ruler can invalidate the rights of the people of Sarawak—not till then.

The Independence of Sarawak will be maintained, not from any exaggerated idea of the abstract rights of a petty native state, but practically to guard against the consequences of admitting a Dependency upon a rapacious monarch, who would sell Sarawak for his profit without a thought of the security or

¹ *Vide* p.34., for the terms of the cession.

welfare of the inhabitants. I trust the Home government will feel the impossibility of our tacitly permitting the assertion of the Sultan being Suzerain of Sarawak and I am sure at any rate the individual ministers will sympathize in the freedom rather than the subjection of a high spirited people and not consider this an impediment to their kindly intention towards Sarawak.

What would I not give or do to "smooth difficulties"? Personally there can be no difficulty. Let Sarawak be safe, recognized, supported, and there can be no question of Self. My heir should be considered—the faithful servants of government not forgotten, but beyond these there need be no thought given to me or mine. The path is as smooth as your winter ice, and all parties may skate over it, if they will but look before them. For myself I am fierce as a savage but placable as a Christian, not alas, from principle, but mere goodnature, and I have only one object which I would follow now, as before. But do not let it be thought that difficulties can be overcome by evading the issue—So long as Sarawak is kept in an equivocal position, the moral influence of England is *used against her* and so long as there is not a thorough knowledge of the subject to justify a fixed course of action, there must be difficulty, embarrassment, ruin and disgrace. The question is in the hands of the British govt to do much or little—directly or indirectly—but not equivocally. It may bind Sarawak or leave her free. There will be no difficulty so that there be a clear understanding, but on the contrary there will be confidence and gratitude, and an end to the wretched doubts generated of ignorance.

My position needs a liberal construction of my actions, and my friends may remember that my duty to this people should be performed at every cost, and without a thought of the consequences to myself, and my native country. Let this be borne in mind when they judge me by official rules or patriotic prejudices and only point to a clean path of duty for the security of Sarawak and the advantage of England and no difficulty can arise to my returning to my easy chair at Burrator. Sarawak and all its districts are peaceful and wonderfully springy considering the prolonged pressure upon their prestige and trade, consequent upon the interference at Muka.

I like Sarawak to stand in the broad light committed to principles and staking her existence upon their maintenance and I gage my life and the life of all who will follow me upon the event. When Muka is captured Sarawak will be stronger than ever. What was nearly done last year has to be done over again under

circumstances of far greater difficulty, but it will be done and that must suffice.

I have exhausted my news in this prolix letter. My best wishes for you and I hope if you go into Devonshire you will visit the cottage on the wild of Dartmoor.

Farewell.

Yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,

26th March, 1861.

MY DEAR LADY,

Herewith is a sample of the wisdom of the serpent—“simulation in seasonable use” “evil that good may come.” My conscience is quite easy, because I have to tell you I do *not* trust the British government, and think they have treated Sarawak shamefully in the Muka affair. Nevertheless if you be right in your opinion of the kindly intention and if the government acts openly and honestly, I will forgive them, and kiss little Lord John metaphorically or actually. You don't know what hard work it is to compose guarded letters, not wishing to deceive, yet conveying an impression not quite correct. A great many angels may sit on the point of a needle, and finer points of casuistry may be left to tenderer consciences than mine. The world is a rough *world*, and a deceptive, and if the good end be gained the means are right.

You ask me upon what terms Sarawak would be transferred to the Crown. There exist many difficulties, but I have only to repeat in brief what I wrote three years ago—1st, The rights of the people. 2nd, Payment of just claims upon the present government. 3rd, Provision for my heir and the public servants. The pecuniary question is trifling, but any suggestion of the sort would require thorough *ventilating*. These were the bases of my former proposals which the B. Govt *read as an offer to sell Sarawak to the Crown*. My view for the good of Sarawak has always been that the principle and practice of the existing government, should be understood, and the transfer be gradually made.

I can give you no particulars yet about the revenue or other matters of that sort for I have not time to get them up, and my taste does not lie in that all important branch of administration. I am told however that the expenditure is within the income upon ordinary years, and the trial is having our means strained by

welfare of the inhabitants. I trust the Home government will feel the impossibility of our tacitly permitting the assertion of the Sultan being Suzerain of Sarawak and I am sure at any rate the individual ministers will sympathize in the freedom rather than the subjection of a high spirited people and not consider this an impediment to their kindly intention towards Sarawak.

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J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
26th March, 1861.

MY DEAR LADY,

Herewith is a sample of the wisdom of the serpent—"simulation in seasonable use" "evil that good may come." My conscience is quite easy, because I have to tell you I do *not* trust the British government, and think they have treated Sarawak shamefully in the Muka affair. Nevertheless if you be right in your opinion of the kindly intention and if the government acts openly and honestly, I will forgive them, and kiss little Lord John metaphorically or actually. You don't know what hard work it is to compose guarded letters, not wishing to deceive, yet conveying an impression not quite correct. A great many angels may sit on the point of a needle, and finer points of casuistry may be left to tenderer consciences than mine. The world is a rough *world*, and a deceptive, and if the good end be gained the means are right.

You ask me upon what terms Sarawak would be transferred to the Crown. There exist many difficulties, but I have only to repeat in brief what I wrote three years ago—1st, The rights of the people. 2nd, Payment of just claims upon the present government. 3rd, Provision for my heir and the public servants. The pecuniary question is trifling, but any suggestion of the sort would require thorough *ventilating*. These were the bases of my former proposals which the B. Govt *read as an offer to sell Sarawak to the Crown*. My view for the good of Sarawak has always been that the principle and practice of the existing government, should be understood, and the transfer be gradually made.

I can give you no particulars yet about the revenue or other matters of that sort for I have not time to get them up, and my taste does not lie in that all important branch of administration. I am told however that the expenditure is within the income upon ordinary years, and the trial is having our means strained by

the extraordinary efforts called for by the cruel supineness of the British and the unwarrantable interference of its officer. The government of Sarawak was formed upon the support of England and her revenue is apportioned to that position, and as the principle was to advance the inhabitants, and the trade of England, by means of a native government the taxes imposed were purposely made light, and I trusted to the development of the country to advance the wealth of the government. Our foundation—i.e. English support—failed, but I have nevertheless held by the principle on the knowledge that Sarawak *must have support* and that with the security thus obtained, the present means will be ample for all the purposes of native government, with a background of increase.

Were we now to receive the established order of taxation, our moral influence would be weakened, and though we might be richer, we should not be so strong—and a forced increase of revenue would need an increased expenditure, and produce political feebleness. Were our people taxed, as the people of Java, or India, or other European possessions are taxed, our revenue would be quadrupled or more, but the very principle upon which the government was founded would be lost, and we should belong to the vulgar class of rulers who take much and spend much. The principle upon which I have acted is—That a native government guided by superior intelligence, and acting in accordance with native pride and feeling, with European support when needed to maintain order, would promote the welfare of the people and largely increase commerce generally. In time it would raise the native inhabitants, and repay a hundredfold the small effort and the small outlay made by the protecting Power. *I dreamed* that this had been done—order, progress, happiness—followed and proved the application of the principle.

What might have been done had the last ten years of wordy strife and calumny, been devoted to a gradual and consistent course of action. Surely there is a duty which civilization, joined to power, owes to the people of every land, struggling to advance in the path of good government? Limited as it may be by self interests, this duty should be recognized, and a great nation should take large views of future advantage and national ascendancy by means of moral influence and the encouragement of right principles wherever found. Sarawak struggles successfully, like a gallant boat in a heavy sea, but she must have support to give security—and security to insure progress.

Our officers are badly paid, and much from poverty is left

undone, which might be done for the good of the country. Our outstations pay less, and cost more of late, and we have an expensive war before us—thanks to the “Babi Labuan”—the Hog of Labuan—the Honble George Edwardes. This is the name which will be handed down to posterity in native tradition of passing events.

You will observe that our whole rice revenue does not exceed £700 or £800 yearly—derived from some 150,000 to 200,000 Dayaks. Where this tax could be raised at all it would be far higher under a European or Malayan government, but it was kept low to suit the feelings, and encourage the industry of this population; for industry should not be coerced, as the strained bow will crack, or relax whenever the pressure be removed. A contented population is better than a full purse, and the development has been impeded by uncertainty, and the wants of security which European support can alone give thoroughly.

But on the whole if we be fairly used there is no fear of an immediate crisis from our financial position. Taxation with us is not arbitrary. In the first instance whenever it is requisite the Board of Revenue recommends particular taxes to the Rajah who reviews the proposition with the Datus or Chiefs and they carry the matter (without European interference) to the Abangs and the Nakodaks where the question is sifted. At this stage, if there be any strong objection to a particular tax it is again referred to the Rajah, and probably quashed—and should it find support *the country* meets in the Court House, when it is proposed, propounded and passed into a Law. The advantage is that the native feeling is tested and the government guided without defeats or chance of collision. Here I positively stop—I am writing a letter and not a volume.

We shall have a tough job at Muka so far as appearances go—but there is no doubt of the result humanly speaking. We go in to Conquer and we have the Confidence which our foes have lost. I do not expect much from Brunai or even from St John, who is in a false position and not able to do much, however willing. It is doubtful whether he will be able to get a man-of-war to carry him to Muka. He writes me that “we cannot on the part of Sarawak be too *moderate*” and that “no arrangement can be permanent that does not satisfy both parties.” Moderation (I say) consistent with justice—and no arrangement can satisfy both parties, when they are so far apart as right and wrong—free trade and monopoly—good government and oppression—order and disorder.

If the Brunai government disavows participation in the plot to assassinate the English—and its head Sheriff Mushahor—and gives Muka such a government as to insure our commerce and the permission to watch over it then we shall be content, but to do this they must clear Muka of all the rascals and murderers congregated there and not send men to plunder the better-disposed inhabitants merely because they be friendly to Sarawak.

My nephew Charles Johnson is here—I shall be very proud to introduce him to you for he is able—gentle and playful. His control over the Dayaks and Sakarrong, Serebas etc. is extraordinary—I have no time to write of unpleasant things and must apologize for the length of the pleasing topics. I enclose a Champaka—the poetic flower of the Malays—the Rose of Europe. It is very fragrant and I am fond of it.

P.S. In reply to your's of 8th Jany. I say I *shew* my feelings to you—not to others—nor do I write to anyone on public affairs excepting Sir J[ames] S[huttleworth].

Sarawak,
27th March, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

You told me upon my leaving to apply for more money if it was needed to carry Sarawak through the present crisis. I should like £2000 more, to be placed at my disposal, and that Mr Farrer should acquaint me I may draw upon his firm for it, over and above the £3000 before in his hands. I wish this, to guard against possible contingencies in the coming struggle, rather than from any knowledge that the money will be really wanted. I drew upon Mr Farrer upon my first arrival for £1000—of this sum we have £500 in hand. I have by the present mail drawn for £1000 more to take to Brunai with me to smooth difficulties there, which if accomplished would prevent or at any rate lighten the struggle. But *then* if we are forced to come to issue with the Sultan's government, it will strain our resources—and on this account I wish and ask for a further supply.

The *Rainbow* is all we could desire as a vessel, but then the stoppage of trade, with the necessity of employing her upon political missions, throws part of her expenses upon govt. instead of putting money in the treasury. Courage, however, and you will perceive I am full of hope, and resolute to win success and

triumph over all difficulties, you know by whose help—May God Bless you both.

Yours ever,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
13 April, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The detention of the vessel taking this mail enables me hurriedly to answer your kind letters of February. I agree in every word you say, and am pleased that the general policy I indicated agrees with your views, and has Lord Grey's sanction. We shall make no overtures to any nation, and try *only* to gain recognition without definite protection, paving the way for future intimacy if needed. There shall be no irritating expression or hostile feeling from Sarawak but then we must support our position and no offence should be taken where none is meant. Above all do not let them say that our standing as British subjects causes difficulty. It is not so, of course.

For the rest Sarawak is vastly in a better position than when we talked about it upon the heights of Torquay—God be thanked, through you. But there is much to do and conquer—much to cause anxiety for the future unless some settlement be made during my life. I mean to live a little longer if I can, and hope in a few months to tell you by word of mouth what I cannot well write about. However our position and prospects are cheerful and improving and there is nothing at present to apprehend beyond the reverses of diplomacy and war. It is a fair field and if we meet with mishap it will be from our own stupidity, or causes against which we cannot guard.

In three or four days I start for Brunai in *Rainbow*, and by the next opportunity I hope to send you intelligence of some arrangement, my object being to settle the matter amicably in Brunai, then go to Muka to settle the country according to the Sultan's arrangement, or to demonstrate to the Sultan that Sheriff Mushahor will resist *his authority* as well as *ours*, and that Mr Edwardes's protégé is a rebel to his govt. Besides this we may throw a brand of dissension into the enemy's camp by bringing the commands of the Sultan.

Mr Edwardes's removal is better late than never—the impression has not been produced which would have followed a more rapid mark of disapproval. He is trying to obtain letters from the Sultan, to exonerate him or to lighten his responsibility. I would not try even to prevent this—few are faithful to a falling

or fallen man, and I would not hurt him when down. The Calcutta "Friend of India" urges my being Governor of the Straits! Oh! the wretched idea of grinding on the Mill again! By the soft realities of easy chairs—the fragrance of cups of Tea when daylight fades, I adjure the galling thralldom of a petty ambition! Did I ever tell you of my question to Madame Le Normand, the weird woman of Paris? When yet young, having my fortune told, she begged me to ask any question I wished relating to my future fate—I asked "Shall I ever be a crowned King?" It made the uncanny creature stare.

Seriously however I shrink from contact with the outer world of darkness, unless it be clearly a duty I owe Sarawak—I have no talent for civilized government—i.e. wriggling a weak executive through the eyes of endless needles—and there is little chance of my particular aptitudes being in request. Thank you very much for saying you could write strongly—I do so because it is a relief, but then I only do so when writing to you. You are always discreet, having been broken in by the iron hand of experience, and I can be a hypocrite though I don't think it is in my nature—and you know it "*don't signify.*"

I wrote Mrs Brown the day before the mail arrived which brought me the photographs—1st, The Group—Poor Mrs B's face was injured by the cracking of the card—The Missus looks cold and uncomfortable and the gentleman with his hands in his pockets is *de trop*—The attitude is not becoming, though free and easy—For my own likeness—the hat I think the best—the full faces good—the other two indifferent—however none of them are so absolutely hideous as former photographs. The gay scent bags will soon be appreciated by the most exalted personages of Brunai. Please tell Mrs Brown that the crocus and snowdrop came well preserved.

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

Brunai,
30th April, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The Sultan received me most cordially upon my arrival and yesterday (29th April, my birthday, æt. 58) the good understanding between Brunai and Sarawak, was formally reestablished by the Sultan addressing a letter to Muka, ordering the chiefs to receive me as his representative to restore order in the country. The difficulty we met with was the Sultan's objection



Photo by Maull & Polyblank

THE RAJAH IN 1860



to issue orders which would not be obeyed. The Pomfret (he remarked) was an excellent fish when fresh, but when stale, nobody cared for it. So with him—he was useless, his people would not obey his orders in his capital—how much less at a distance. He had been promised revenue for years past, but had got none—nobody cared for him. This is literally true, and the key to all the measures, of the Sultan and his Wazeers. They wanted revenue and to get it they were persuaded it was necessary to destroy trade in order to give full scope to the rapacity of the local nobles, under pretence of levying revenue, which the Sultan never received.

First decrease and then the destruction of trade from monopoly, then oppression and insecurity, was the certain reality in pursuit of the shadow of revenue. The goose which lays the golden egg is always killed under these native governments. A striking example has recently occurred to illustrate the above. The Sultan and his Wazeers are poor to the last degree, and craving for money. The interference of Mr Edwardes opened a great field for exactions, and the people of Muka, Oya and other rivers, were literally fleeced by two small officers of the Brunai government who raised at least £4000 in the Sultan's name by imposing fines. But of this sum the Sultan got only about £100, and the Wazeers (or great officers) *nothing!* It was divided between Dipa, Mushahor, and the Sultan's two officers, and if any one connected with government—the monarch or his highest relatives—had called upon the defaulters to disgorge their plunder, a civil war in the Capital would probably have followed, as one faction would have opposed the other, and been glad to have gained adherents, even by the sacrifice of the money due. These rogues—not worse than their fellows—now live openly in the city, perform their official duties about Court, and have lost no repute by this trifling offence. The decay, disorder and disaffection here are complete and only by a stretch of Imagination can it be styled a *Government*, and to act as though a government existed, would be to insure anarchy and its concomitant ills.

This will be our difficulty after Muka is in my hands. A government there must be to secure trade, but the Sultan confesses he has no means of forming one, and he can give no guarantee for the preservation of order. He is powerless and knows it now, that he is no longer deceived by promises, which had they been fulfilled would have destroyed all alike. The Sultan and those about him offered to place Muka under my

rule for a stated yearly sum—I refused, but the offer will be renewed, and shall be considered with a view to all interests, when the place has been reduced to obedience, in the name of the Sultan but for the advantage of England as much as that of Sarawak. We shall now act *with Brunai*, and have legitimacy, as well as rights, upon our side. This is as it should be and will shake the enemy although it may not prevent hostilities; and should the Chiefs Mushahor and Dipa refuse obedience to the Sultan's mandate, they will place themselves beyond the pale of authority.

Our plan is to leave this on the 2nd May, touch at Oya to drop the Sultan's messenger and then to Sarawak. St John will accompany us, for the Sultan has requested him to deliver the letter containing his commands at Muka, in a British man-of-war. I have throughout received the most friendly and efficient aid from the Consul-General and without the weight of his official position and personal influence this affair might not have been so easily, or happily, ended. I forbear from speculation but I may end by saying that though I hope for peace we shall be prepared for war.

Sarawak, 8th May, 1861. Arrived here on the 5th, after touching at Oya. The principal people came off to the *Rainbow*—the letters from the Sultan were read—the views of the Brunai government explained. Dipa was offered fair treatment, and Mushahor was promised his life upon condition of banishment. The Sultan's messenger was landed and so we came on. Here every thing is preparing for our campaign and the arrangement is that on or about the 1st June the first division of the Sarawak force moves forward to be ready for action in case the British should retire from the field—which ought not to be, seeing that their trade is stopped by a gang of marauders refusing obedience to their own sovereign. Matters so far have progressed exactly according to our programme before we left England and the political difficulty being overcome the question of peace or war at Muka is of small account, though I ardently long for peace.

You may imagine how busy I am. My best wishes for Mrs Brown and I send a specimen of Brunai vegetation to mark my travels. The merry month of May has come and I think of the flowers and green fields of old England—Farewell.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Mr Edwardes wrote me a *very polite note* hoping every thing might be *amicably arranged with the Sultan* and announcing

the expected nomination of his successor, and his return home! I replied, very civilly—and hoped the speedy arrival of his successor would enable him to avoid the great heat in the Red Sea on his homeward voyage!

Sarawak,
20th May, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

In my last of the 8th May I announced that Mr St John and my nephew were about to proceed to Singapore in the *Rainbow*, the Consul General probably to consult the naval commanding officer upon the steps to be taken for the reestablishment of British trade along the coast. The question in this aspect has only a secondary reference to Sarawak, though of course her government is always ready to support any measure of peace and free trade. The case (as I view it) stands thus—Mr Edwardes created a misunderstanding between Sarawak and Brunai and by his authority placed Sheriff Mushahor in Muka: His acts have been disavowed at home, the friendly relations reestablished, and both the governments of Sarawak and Brunai are now as anxious to get this rascal out, as Mr Edwardes could have been to get him into the place. The Sultan orders this Sheriff to leave Muka. The C.G. carries this order. What then? Supposing this criminal seizes the Sultan's territory forcibly, and resolves to hold it against all comers—whose business will it be to drive him out? I think the task should devolve upon the English, because the imbroglio was their officer's. The trade is theirs, and they have a treaty with the Sultan of amity.

I am doing all I can to smooth affairs, and in actions I never make a difficulty. We are ready to act with the English, under the English, or single handed—only Muka must have a government, and trade be secured. The end will be the same, but the difference at it will be more or less bloodshed, according to the action of power. The beneficent exertion of power, would be Mercy, and the boats of any man-of-war, would make the difference!

Muka however must be rid of the hordes of ruffians who now exercise a reign of terror over the unfortunate inhabitants and we continue our preparations for war, though I am trying every means to obtain peace, or at any rate, to render the struggle as little as possible destructive of life. With the former object, I have sent Sheriff Bujang to his brother Sheriff Mushahor to say that if he obeys the mandate of the Sultan, he shall have our free

permission to depart with the people willing to follow him. Failing this effort at pacification I shall proceed to Muka and before regularly attacking the place endeavour to open a means of escape for the poor people kept by terror in the clutches of the enemy. I believe that a less angry feeling prevails here, and generally at Muka, and Brunai, and the kindlier tone, though it may not prevent Sheriff Mushahor from offering resistance, will cause dissension in his councils, and bring over waverers. So far all is right and according to our programme; but hostilities over, the difficult task will be to reconstruct—to secure, and inspire confidence.

29th May, 1861. The steamer has returned and I understand that the Consul-General will proceed to Muka in H.M.S. *Charybdis*—Capt. Keane—without touching at Sarawak. It is a pity, because we may be at cross purposes in consequence. Our force advances on the 9th June (an auspicious day according to our soothsayers) without reference to the proceedings of the man-of-war. Of course Mr St John does not approve this division and his experience may perhaps change the programme. There is a report that a British schooner rash enough to go to Muka has been seized. Certainly her absence excites suspicion.

Farewell and Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

Meanwhile Spenser St John visited Muka in H.M.S. *Charybdis* and describes his experiences in the following letter to Miss Burdett Coutts.

H.M.S. *Charybdis*,

June 10th, 1861.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have just time to write a line to say that I have been to Muka; the Chiefs there are in very great alarm, and full of professions to follow the order of the Sultan's Govt—they promise to go on board and meet Sir James directly he arrives opposite the river and endeavour to settle everything peacefully. I hear nine-tenths of the inhabitants are ready to desert the fighting party, which consists principally of those that fled from the Sarawak territories with Sheriff Mushahor. Even the Sheriff expresses himself ready to submit, and is now prevented from doing so by the opposition of some of his fighting followers. He will submit, he looks submissive. The other chiefs are pale with

dread. Should they fight I am glad to say their defences are so paltry that we are convinced they will fall before the fifth shell of a 32-pounder: I believe we could have taken it yesterday with our boats in five minutes; only the rascals would not give us any excuse.

I found Keane a very much better fellow than I expected: though he does look upon Borneo as a humbug. He was not ready to act beyond his general orders but as the case stands Sarawak perhaps would have lost some prestige had we done the work for her.

Will you kindly inform Mrs Brown that I shook hands with the murderer Sheriff Mushahor, but that I am undergoing a course of Windsor soap to wash the stain out: perhaps that will be difficult but till a man is proved guilty one must treat him as innocent.

We went into Muka with six boats and 120 men: we left half at the boom below the fort and went on to the Chiefs with the other: I heard that during our absence the garrison of the fort amused themselves by concentrating their guns at the boats, and going through the action of mimic warfare. I suppose they thought this would frighten our men, but the bluejackets laughed and continued their dinner, hoping that the garrison would excite themselves up to the point of firing into them: I have little doubt the garrison were astonished at the coolness of our fellows.

I shall see the Rajah this afternoon, but I know the first day of one's arrival is not a letter writing day, so I cannot give you his impressions on the news I bring. He will no doubt think we ought to have done more, but the fact is I have no authority to do anything. My instructions are very vague, and with them I could not induce any Captain of a man-of-war to act. I tried Keane, but found he could do nothing, having no specific instructions, and by showing mine I should not have improved my hand. With kind regards to Mrs Brown,

Believe me to be

Very sincerely yours,

SPENSER ST JOHN.

The *Charybdis*, "a magnificent 21-gun corvette," St John calls her, with her full complement of bluejackets and marines, caused so profound an impression in Muka that when the Rajah arrived he had an easy task. He, too, went with an overwhelming force—the *Rainbow*, three sailing gunboats and over 300 war prahus manned by Malays and Dyaks. The result

was immediate submission, and the fort, a rough blockhouse nearly 120 feet long and raised on posts 20 feet above the ground, was surrendered and dismantled. The Rajah took no revenge: that would not have been his way. Instead, he installed himself in the fort and spent his days listening to complaints, settling cases and reconciling enemies, undoing injustices and helping the poor. Muka was thrown open to trade once more and the half-starved population were at last able to exchange their abundant supplies of sago for stores from the Sarawak traders who came flocking in. Mindful of St John's promise, the Rajah granted Sheriff Mushhor his life and allowed him to leave the country with his property and those of his family who cared to follow him.

Later, the Rajah paid a second visit to Brunai and arranged with the Sultan to take over the sago districts in return for an annual payment of cession money amounting to some £1,200, thereby adding some rich territory and 120 miles of coast line to Sarawak.

Before his return to England the Rajah publicly installed Captain Brooke as Rajah Muda—the title of heir presumptive, and, since Belgium had become interested in Sarawak, he thought it proper to outline his position, and the position of Sarawak, to Captain Brooke, before the offer of a Protectorate should be made. He did so in the following letter, which is taken from a copy in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand.

Sarawak,
5th September, 1861.

MY DEAR BROOKE,

I think it prudent that we should understand the just limits of rights of which we are apt to speak vaguely, and I therefore send you the enclosed opinions which I believe to be morally as well as legally conclusive—you might have been certain that I could not injure or distress you upon your succession to Sarawak. I had a right to look for this confidence, and believe me, my dear Brooke, your interests have been my case as the advancement of Sarawak has been my sole object in life.

So much for the past—I have now resolved (for reasons I need not mention) to limit my share of any arrangement for the future Government of Sarawak¹ to an annuity in part repayment of the cum due to me. Thus the debt owing by the State will be wiped out, and you may take the compensation for my rights which you would inherit. The amount of this compensation must continue uncertain; but our characters will be judged by our conduct in this matter, we must endeavour to act for the public good, without undue care of our personal advantage. Upon the general question I will only repeat what I have always said—

¹ Negotiations with Belgium were then in progress.

Sarawak cannot stand without support, and this support I seek from any European nation which will give it upon fair terms. It should not be delayed if attainable, for if men take no thought about what is distant—they will find sorrow near at hand.

Your affectionate Uncle,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosure

Case of the Rights, respectively, of different parties in Sarawak.¹

A is the ruler of the state of S. holding his rights under cession from the former Sovereign and by the choice of the people—What are the pecuniary rights of A as Ruler? or in case he should be obliged to relinquish the government into other hands for the good of his people? Answer—The Ruler A has a right to an adequate provision from the State, and in the event of his relinquishing his station he would have a right to a proper compensation in lieu of the sacrifice he made, and the services he has rendered, but the amount of provision or compensation would depend upon the financial condition of the State. The right of A under the cession from the former Sovereign would be greater than here stated.

A is the Ruler of the State of S.—B his acknowledged heir by the promise of A. What are the political or pecuniary rights of B during the life of A, and in the event of transfer mentioned what would be B's position? Are the rights of B, political or pecuniary, distinct from the rights of A? Answer—the inheritance of B rests upon the obligation of a promise and his position as heir to the State entails the obligation of obedience. The duties are reciprocal. The rights of B in my opinion are not distinct from the rights of A—the rights of B are inheritance upon the death of A and a suitable provision from the state during his (A's) life and in like manner B would inherit the compensation made to A upon the relinquishment of his position and be entitled during A's life for a maintenance out of it further.

A, the Ruler, during his administration and in time of great need, expended a sum of money from his private fortune to establish the Government and advance the welfare of the state of S. A has always publicly and privately declared this sum to have been lent to the state of S—How is this sum of money to be treated: is it to be considered a debt, or does it become merged

¹ The "opinion" on the three questions was probably Spenser St. John's.

in the State, or has B any right to it as the heir to A. and his successor in the state of S? Answer—A is a public creditor for money lent and this debt cannot be treated differently from other debts due by the State of S—this sum could not be merged in the State without proof of its having been a gift, nor can B as A's heir in the State have a right to this money more than to other monies the personal property of A. A settlement made by A could alone give such a right.

J. B.

Labuan,

27 Aug, 61.

Leaving Singapore on October 8 with Spenser St John the Rajah reached England on November 20. He returned a happier man than he had left. It had been a well-spent year. He had made peace with Bruni. He had settled the Muka affair without bloodshed. He had added to Sarawak all the districts that had been disturbed so long. Even more than that, his visit had united and given his people fresh hope—many of them had believed him dead. Sarawak was prospering, trade improving, and thanks to the *Rainbow* the country was no longer isolated but within thirty-seven days of England.

CHAPTER V

ENTR'ACTE

January—November, 1862

The Rajah's negotiations with Belgium—He seeks Miss Burdett Coutts's advice—She cautions him to be prudent—The Rajah describes a dinner party and a ball—Back at Burrator—He befriends a trespasser—Captain Brooke agrees to transfer Sarawak to Belgium—The Rajah's Memorandum on Sarawak for Lord John Russell—He goes to Paris with Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown for the Exhibition—He thinks of offering Garibaldi sanctuary in Sarawak—Miss Burdett Coutts dissuades him—The Ladies stay at Burrator—Lord Elgin sends a Commissioner to Sarawak.

ON the Rajah's return to England he was still preoccupied with the possibility of coming to an arrangement with Belgium; yet unwilling to commit himself while there was still a chance of the British Government giving Sarawak the support he desired.

*Lupton,
Torquay,
12th Jany, 1862.*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

My conscience rather pricks me in regard to the Belgian affair—time flies and is likely to fly before any definite decision is come to and it would appear a neglect to postpone any notice of Mons^r Goffinet's letters.

There are three modes of proceeding:

1st. Maintain silence, under the plea of preparing the information he wants.

2nd. Supply this information without reference to what is going on here.

3rd. Frankly tell him I have (without personal communication) learned that the British govt will reconsider the subject and that I am naturally desirous to wait till it has done so! What course shall I follow? I lean towards the last if you are agreeable—and see no objection. If *they* be men of the *right sort* they will appreciate my doing so, and men of the wrong sort—narrow and exigent—we do not want.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Shortly after the Rajah left Sarawak in 1861 Mr Charles Johnson led an expedition to Sadok with the object of reducing to submission an aged Saribas chief, Rentap, who, secure in his fort high up on the mountain-side, had been a redoubtable enemy of Sarawak for many years, and his fastness had become the rallying point of the malcontents of Muka. The following letters proclaim the success of the expedition, which now left Sarawak definitely at peace.¹

Bulletin extraordinary.

Sadok taken by the Sarawak Force—Complete pacification of the Dayak Tribes—

J. BROOKE.

15th *Jan*y, 1862.

Just going to Totnes for the day.

Torquay,
16th *Jan*y, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I received the welcome intelligence of the success of the operations against Sadok as I was starting yesterday morning for Totnes, and despatched the news hastily to you. But I find by your letters that it had reached you before, owing to my letters having gone round about to Burrator. The complete pacification of the Dayaks will follow the capture of their stronghold, and I am only now desirous of reaping the full advantages of success by a just and even generous course. These Dayaks have been our consistent enemies, and the same qualities will make them our consistent friends, if we take pains to make them so. Even the old fugitive Runtap should be pardoned and cared for—he committed one atrocious act of cruelty, but with this exception has been a fair foe and I hope he will be well treated, for he is sure to come in. Will you kindly send me the "Free Press" with the account, as my letter is very barren of particulars.

I quite take your view of the Belgian negociation. My communication to Major G. might come round to the Foreign Office and do mischief, whereas your plan will be quite safe and the preparation of the information asked for, will be a reasonable excuse if requited to account for my silence. I quite concur, too, in the prudence of keeping the negociation confined to as few persons as possible. I have not mentioned the subject to a

¹ *Ten Years in Sarawak* contains a detailed and personal account of this expedition.

single member of my own family, nor any one outside. I rather hug the secret for the pleasant surprize it will be, if successful, to my well-wishers. Pray tell Sir James S[huttleworth], for his advice and assistance will be alike valuable and pray, too, remember me to him most kindly.

I thank Mrs Brown for her letters—if I had two or three daily it would afford me pleasure, for there can be no correspondence without an entire detail of events and thoughts. I will answer to-morrow. Torquay is not gay but I *am*, as I go—dragged by moral force—to a ball to-night at Lady Palk's—1, Hesketh Crescent! Mr Young dines and goes with us. My sister is the martyr, but the young lady must have a little of the enjoyment suited to her youth. I shall reach home on Monday morning and I shall be glad of the quiet and regularity as I do not feel better for these visits; they interrupt the smooth current of life—they are rocks over which the water frets.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Torquay,
17th Jan'y, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

My letters go round about by Burrator and this made my "Gazette Extraordinary" behind hand in giving you the first news of the Great Victory at Sadok. My nephew is a wretched correspondent, not giving me any details, but he remarks that the fall of Sadok has caused universal satisfaction and in the opinion of all the natives that there will be no further trouble with the Dayaks. This is my own conviction and very comforting. The crowning success may follow and consummate fitly my life's effort.

I must say I shall be very glad if you write daily or oftener—from the fullness of the heart the pen scribbles and great events do not make up the sum of life! I cannot guess my sister's peculiarity? I give it up, but we have been loving brother and sister all our lives and wonderful to say we took up our crutches last night and went to a ball at No. 1 Hesketh Cr. Everything looked miserable, and the only happy moment was when I got away—12-30. Miss Helen stayed till 3. We had Mr Julian Young and Sir George Bishop at dinner—two talkers in a party of six. Acid and alkali were they, eyeing each other suspiciously and growing more antagonistic with each remark—snapping

and each refusing to listen to the other's anecdotes, or criticizing in no friendly spirit. I was an oily peace-maker, but with all my efforts, Mr Y remarked at parting "*that man* doesn't believe a word I say" and Sir George said on his part—"That fellow thinks every one must praise his long-winded stories."

It was as good as a play.

I am going to-day to escort Mrs Rusleigh—a connexion of ours—to hear Mr Young read *Hamlet*—I would much rather stay away. You must not give me credit for imaginary virtues—I have little to do, and think of nothing at all! whistle as I go, for want of thought, and believe the summit of human happiness to be hanging over a gate and eating Beacon. I must tell you my brother-in-law Johnson has made me a present of a phaeton, to which I shall put two ponies and so be ready to drive you and the Missus next summer. Tommy is well and tame and *silent*—Dickey sings the live-long day through.¹

All join in love and ever your sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
21st Jan'y, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

The bustle of the last day passed at Torquay left me no leisure to reply to your kind letter of the 18th. Then upon Sunday I drove over to Totnes and so on to be home by 12 yesterday. I assure you there is no occasion to be apprehensive upon the score of my suffering from the bleakness of this climate for if I feel it harmful in the least, I shall take wing for Holly Lodge, or London, where you have so accustomed me to home. The air is as frisky as champagne, and if I require bracing . . . I shall surely have it here. It is an experiment and shall be made with caution; yesterday it blew a bitter easterly gale. This morning we are white with snow, the air still, and the sun shining—nature looking lovely and tempting me to a walk amid the granite masses of Sheepstor.

My welcome home was agreeable—a merry peal of bells from the renovated Tower greeted me. The unwashed are washed. Saul and the servants seemed pleased to have me back, whilst Mr Richard and Miss Mim gave me a frantic recognition! (these are the dogs, mind). Dick, directly he heard my voice,

¹ His canaries.

began begging furiously—then, on the gig coming up, accompanied it barking to the door and then began begging again, with sundry inarticulate sounds very *like language*. The house was warm and snug though very shabby. I was glad to be at home with a mind at ease, which was not so before. Had a Woodcock for dinner and eat him up, then read the *Athenæum* till $\frac{1}{2}$ -past ten and afterwards slept til morning dawn. Here is the full and particular history you ask for. I have not seen my neighbours yet, nor the ponies, nor the cows, nor the pigs, ducks and chickens. Tommy and Dickey arrived safely and the talker in the sunny South window is twittering his wood note wild—*only* the bullfinch note.

I have beside all this rural life another little history to tell you. I mentioned having a protégée in Totnes. It came about as follows—When staying there two and a half years since I used to take my invalid saunter in the meadows skirting the “Dart.” A party of boys were bathing afar off, as it appeared in forbidden water, when three fishermen in their seven-league boots, rushed upon them. They fled (very scantily clothed) excepting one, who having swum further than the others lost his clothes, and was himself taken prisoner and led off to the fishing house. It was not in my nature to see this, so I went to the rescue and got the poor boy off. Thus our acquaintance commenced. Afterwards he always seemed pleased to see me and I was pleased with the attention, so we gradually became friends and I heard his little history. His father, a stone-mason in the town—His grandfather (with whom he lived) and four uncles shipwrights, well-to-do in the government Dockyards. *He* was to be a shipwright too and spoke with pride of his lot. I saw the father, who was a really respectable man of the lower order—manly, intelligent, upright, struggling cheerfully to bring up a young family. So it ended. I gave the boy *a tip* and went my way and not til the other day did I think of inquiring about my young acquaintance. He had not been on the sunny wall of fortune—children had increased and wages were low—his grandfather then was out of work and so the lad had returned to his father. His uncles had families and could not get him into the Dock Yard as apprentice, though he had passed *fifth*, with seven vacancies, and thirty odd candidates. Luck had been against them but fortunately he had had a good education and was eager for more—so I thought I could be in the way of helping him, and have determined to send him to school for a year or two, and when he has thoroughly mastered book-keeping, to send him to Sarawak

as a clerk in our revenue department. I am now inquiring for a fitting school. I hope even to do something for the father, who is a man one likes to meet—independent but respectful—knowing his place, and acknowledging the pains and penalties of a life of labour, without shrinking or discontent.

Here is the little history of my recent visits to Totnes. Will the Missus and yourself take the trouble to read all this—it is quite in your way! God Bless you both. I am going to walk in the snow—Can you do so? This puts me in mind of a conversation between two midshipmen each trying to outdo the other, upon the merits of their respective ships—As a climax one exclaimed “You can’t get drunk whenever you like”—“Can’t we, though, that’s all,” replied the other.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

MY DEAR LADY,¹

Burrator,
28th Jany, 1862.

The Missus asks an illogical question which Mr Mill would not listen to. She cannot fly because she is not permitted, and she is not permitted to be languid because, as I told her, “Tis not her nature to.” The shade of good Dr Walter forbids and—Heavens and Earth!—things would have come to a pretty pass if she turned into a fine lady! She may be a Grand Dame—but a fine lady! “tis not her nature to.” I believe this is the only important subject I have to write about—Let me know when the toys are sent off. The sheep better about March or April but I cannot stay away so long as that. I have got a school for the lad at Tavistock where I can judge his progress, and which does not remove him from his proper sphere, excepting in a proper degree.

I have returned to the world, by being restored a member of my old Club, the “Windham.” I think a snug lodging in Town in permanence would be comfortable.

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Important.

This day a Hog must Die—be transformed into Pork, Bacon, Ham and Sausages. This is farming—A little Pig is turned into a fat Hog and then as aforesaid. I suppose you will be disgusted but only think of the *Utility*.

¹ Written to Mrs Brown.

Burrator,
3rd Feby, 1862.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The expected letter was welcome—I trust to this affair taking the right turn at the right time, but I dread a new project being introduced and the more I think of St John's plan, the more difficulties it presents. There is vagueness where we want certainty. The questions must be asked at last—Will the British Government take possession of the country, and incur the responsibilities political and pecuniary? Or with a nominal possession, can it leave the people free to act under their own government? The former in my opinion will not, and the latter cannot, be done. A free people with the government of their choice, and a prosperous country, ought to be cautious of relinquishing these blessings, excepting for something positively better, and nothing ambiguous or doubtful could be better! We want Certainty and a clearly defined arrangement—short of this there would be confusion at a future time, and probably ruin for Sarawak. This is why—as representing Sarawak—I am decisively for Protection to begin with. All I say is that providing for the security and efficiency of the government of Sarawak, I should gladly accede to any plan, but so far as it has gone there seems to me a failure in the propositions for making Sarawak a possession of the Crown. I am convinced the fewer in the secret of what is going on the better.

Farewell, with my best wishes for Holly Lodge from Burrator,
Your's ever sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
15th Feby, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I fire off a 68-pr this morning and please tell me what I am to do, and say in this matter.¹ I was thinking of answering, 1st, "That to furnish the information wanted would have been a laborious task, and that I had thought it best to interpose a delay in order to await intelligence of the result of measures now being carried out as the pacification of the Dayak tribes. The certain discovery of minerals, especially a workable coal seam, and the rapid extension of trade, would be the best means of averting the difficulties which might beset the question. A few months would now favourably solve these questions. 2nd, That it was

¹ The negotiations with Belgium.

certain the British Government contemplated a rearrangement of its different settlements in the East and that I had heard it was possible it might review the Policy to be pursued in these countries; and under the circumstances I thought it best to pause awhile as, independently of my own feelings, it would scarcely be prudent to embark upon a course which might be opposed to the views of England. For these reasons, delay had arisen which in every probability will be ended in six weeks or two months, when I could follow his Royal Highness to the South and enter unreservedly upon the subject. 3rd, I make my acknowledgment to H.R.H.¹ for his continued interest" etc.

Pray advise upon the 2nd point and the difficulty I feel is that Mons^r Goffinet as nearly conveys an invitation to Brussels as a Royal person could give. I do not like to appear *shuffling*. Please return the letter and your counsel without delay.

It is a biting wind without, and cheerless—I do not venture out. Tommy and Dickey sing spite of weather. I am looking over Essays and Reviews and reading rudimentary Science and the Scientific Review. This is because my box has gone to Mudies to be refilled.

My best wishes for you and ever yours very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

The following extract from a letter written by Captain Brooke to the Rajah is important, in view of his bitter difference of policy with the Rajah later in the year. Here he is plainly in favour of ceding Sarawak to Belgium, on certain terms.

Extract from a letter of J. Brooke Brooke sent to Sir James Brooke.²

Sarawak,

2nd Jany, 1862.

... I have been reading the proposed convention which I gave you here, which with some help from others I drew up myself. I must say I don't think it is satisfactory, nor do I suppose that even you can for a moment think the Belgians would have anything to do with such terms. They will want the country handed over to them in some specified time—one year or two years. I am not at all certain that it would not be the best thing for Sarawak to be thus transferred. The present government really depends upon my Brother's and my own health. If we fail, and we are both very shaky, there is no one to hold things together.

¹ The Duke of Brabant.

² A copy in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand.

In any question of transfer there are to be considered, the rights and privileges of the people, your rights, and my rights, and finally the Sultan's, claims of Pensions to officers of course. These preliminaries settled, the next thing is, can the consent of the Chiefs of the people be obtained? Probably Yes—if you and I work cordially together, with 10,000 Belgian dollars to smooth difficulties. I think you should be here to do it, and you should be able to give some very positive assurance that no interference would result to their slaves and that the laws would be administered as at present by Native Chiefs. With all this clearly and quietly arranged I don't apprehend that there would be much *difficulty* or opposition. . . .

Burrator,
17th Feby, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

Upon Saturday (15th) I received a letter from Sarawak dated the 2nd January. The races had gone off with eclat the day before and public affairs were quite satisfactory, though the letter was not written in good spirits and my nephew complains of not being strong and no doubt the approaching departure of his brother and the Grants tells upon him. Strange however that Brooke *now* proposes to me what I have in vain proposed to him for ten years past. He says if Belgium desires the transfer of the government in two years or even one that it will be better so to arrange, as Sarawak cannot stand alone being dependent upon his life and his brother's. He says a good deal more pleasing to me upon our personal differences of which I can talk at large when we meet but you will perceive how free this accord leaves me to conclude an arrangement. I have replied in the most conciliatory tone and quite as my feeling of affection dictates and this union of her rulers is a very good fortune for Sarawak. I am living to find people of my opinion, without acknowledgment of the plagiarism.

I am going to take a walk to-day after being three days very comfortably in the House.

Best wishes and ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Do you know any young gentleman, say from 20 to 25 years of age, who would wish to go to Sarawak and appears fitted for it? It is no great prospect but might mend with the advance

of the country and it is the life of a gentleman with higher motives involved, if appreciated.

Ever yours,
J. B.

Fortunately Miss Burdett Coutts kept copies, or the drafts, of letters which she considered sufficiently important. Here she gives the Rajah some forthright advice.

Holly Lodge,
February, 20/62.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

We are so pleased to hear of your Child gathering and can imagine *all* the bad advice you gave as to the comparative merits of play and study. We are going to the Iron School to a tea drinking and Magic Lantern this evening. I hope the great discharge exploded satisfactorily. I should not *feel* myself that I could make any more confidential communication—the Belgian Government has bound you to secrecy and moreover frankly says it is hardly prepared to enter into more than preliminary discussion. It seems to me that *they* place *you* in an awkward position and that you are by no means called upon to say more than is necessary and is not *untrue*, both as respects your feelings and position. When you are referred to by the British Government it may become a question what you should then do—and whether you should not ask the Belgian Government to relieve you from this dreadful secret. I mean this is how I should *feel* this matter if it were a question of right or wrong to myself. I believe Mrs Brown sympathizes rather with *your guardian Angel*.

In the mean time The Great Government Gun goes on slowly asking itself questions *how* it is to load and explode. Sir James Shuttleworth and Mr J. A. Smith thought it advisable to try and remove some of its impediments and Sir James suggested speaking to Cobden. He said Mr Cobden spoke of the Rajah most highly *personally* but suggested he was born out of time! No doubt the great Anti-Cornlaw Legislator would arrange these trifling errors of Providence better, but your friends observed to him that as the Rajah was actually amongst us in our generation, however inopportune and ill-arranged it might be, *something* must be done with him and the matter of his existence!

I really believe that the Government will (if it move in the matter) do it in earnest, either by granting an effective protectorate or taking it bona fide as a Colony—going to Parliament for a grant. Which of these two it may select, is, I think,

doubtful. If the Government after all withdraw I do not see it could oppose an arrangement with so inoffensive a Government as Belgium.

Mr St John is getting on with his Book—he has a nice title.¹

Goodbye. I enclose a wee bit from Mrs Brown and I am

Yours sincerely,

A. J. B. COURTS.

I am not in the least reconciled to a foreign Flag, whatever other people are or is?

Deam Prior,

22nd Feby, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I am quite agreeable about the Belgian question, and *when* the British government applies to me, we can consider in Council—"Friends in Council"—what had better be said and done. This overture from the Duke of Brabant is undoubtedly sincere but it has struck me whether he is in accord with the Belgian Government and whether he is able to carry out his own views and wishes. There are expressions in Mons^r G.'s letter which excite doubts upon these points. I think the interview with Mr Cobden quite in the right direction, and very satisfactory. It is not easy to bless our enemies whilst they curse us—but not difficult when they have ceased to be our enemies, and stopped running sharp swords in to our hearts.

When Mr Cobden said I was "a man in advance of the age in which I am living" he paid me the highest compliment, and I think in some respects he is right, because the present age will not see that Eastern peoples may be governed and raised by appealing to the pride, and right feeling, which pulsates in their hearts, exactly as it does in those of the Western world. And if this be once allowed in theory, and demonstrated in practice, we shall be nearer spreading our civilization over the globe, and making its inhabitants happier.

Now the effort in Sarawak has endured for twenty years. We are working with the people and giving them a just notion of their rights under the action of free government. Upon this general principle I hope to see the question settled, the rule being in my family, or the Crown, is a secondary consideration, provided the principle be acted upon, that the people are the best judges of their own happiness and that the duty of government is to promote the well-being of the mass in *their way* and according

¹ *Life in the Forests of the Far East.*

to their ideas. Further, the expenses should be left upon the govt with a helping hand, and just that degree of protection, and encouragement, given, which civilization owes to every people struggling to do right. Upon the practical success of this principle depends trade, civilization and religion and all the good things which flow out of them if *rightly conducted*. But dissension and anarchy, stirred up by superior knowledge, render Trade a Curse, Civilization a sham and Religion an Hypocrisy!

We can point to practical results in Sarawak and they should not be despised because upon a small scale. Principles are applicable from the smallest to the greatest things.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Pembroke—Torquay,

8th March, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I do not anticipate dangers from the D Israelli cligue but of Lord D's cabinets, Lord Stanley was always the most friendly.

He wrote Fairbairn in reply to a letter from him that Sarawak could not be allowed to pass into the possession of another nation. I do not know any other members of that government or what they may think upon our affairs. I do know they were very ignorant and acting in the dark by taking a one-sided view as the ground of their decisions.

They can't get rid of me—I am an old man of the sea. I choke them with a sense of wrong doing! and they will concede any thing to get me off feeling conscious that there is an under-current of opinion in my favour, which may cause an unpleasant imbroglio.

The clergy are I fear a troublesome set collectively and individually. Directly a man persuades himself he has a divine mission from Heaven, he becomes turbulent upon Earth. When a mortal speaks in the name of God, it is usually not to bless.

I shall postpone the further consideration of Iago's age, till I am seated in *my chair*—but please tell Mrs Brown that *logically* a number of negatives do not make a positive. Why should Roderigo be a young man? I think he was old, for he was an almighty fool, and the greatest of all fools is an old fool. Then why assume Cassio to be young? His high post presumes he was of middle age. However Mrs Brown does know Shakespeare

which I do not—only *I think* that Iago was an Ancient of Days, because for the honour of human nature I maintain that a young man of 30, could not have had head or heart for such villainy.

Farewell,

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
18th March, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

Do you know any thing of Devonshire dialects? Its expressions are poetical—Lilly for a sheet—Leat for a water-course and Golden Gladdie for a yellow Hammer. Sir Francis Drake made the Leat which still conveys the water to Plymouth and to-day I was walking on its bank casting spring flowers into the stream and wondering if he ever did the same in Queen Bessy's time?

You may judge how long I have been out of the world by my detailing my day's amusement, but there might be worse and sufficient for the day is the toil thereof. I feel I shall sleep well.

God Bless you both and ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

B-tor,
25th April, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

Here is the fruit of my labour for your consideration.¹ I have sent it to Mr J. A. Smith. Thanks for the flowers.

Ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Memorandum on Sarawak and the North-Western Coast of Borneo.

Sarawak holds a position important for steam navigation and electric communication, situated as it is on the Southern shore of the China Sea.

Possessing navigable rivers, gold, antimony and iron, (and silver has been discovered) in abundance, the soil calculated for the growth of cotton, sugar, coffee and other tropical productions and the forests yielding timber of fine qualities; the population

¹ The report which follows. At Miss Burdett Coutts's suggestion the Rajah wrote it for the information of Lord Russell, and her friend Mr John Abel Smith (later M.P. for Chichester) had undertaken to bring it to his lordship's notice.

alive to the benefits of good Government, trade increasing,¹ and the Country needing only the stimulus of power, joined to the action of right principles, to effect a great change, political and commercial, along the North Western Coast of Borneo, and even throughout the Eastern Archipelago. As a link of communication likewise between Europe and China, and a *point d'appui* in operations, peaceful or warlike, Sarawak might play a part in an important Policy. The people have proved themselves worthy, desiring to advance its political and commercial interests in the far East.

A weak Government can do nothing; a strong one might do everything with moderate effort. The system of rule, and the machinery of Government, are at work, and require only to be extended to embrace a more vigorous policy, and more important ends. A few words will suffice in explanation. The Malay, the Dayak, the European, and the Chinese, are the races to be dealt with. The Malay, a proud and sensitive people, would become the Instruments of Government in public affairs. The Dayak should be fostered and gradually advanced, and upon the good will and welfare of these two (so to say) aboriginal people, the Government should rely for a body of wild Warriors for purposes offensive and defensive² in a Country where their services are of incalculable value, in aid of a small European force. The prestige, whether in peace, or war, acquired by this means, would spread far and wide.

European Capital, and Chinese labour introduced, and directed to its resources, would soon render Sarawak a valuable possession. China yearly pours forth its tens of thousands of Coolies, and Borneo close at hand offers every advantage for immigration, when directed by a vigorous Government. The political objects already mentioned would be attained simultaneously with the development of the Country, and a steam gunboat with one hundred men ashore would suffice in the first instance for security. A more commanding attitude would be preferable, and the impression should be produced on the native mind of security and certainty. These are the advantages offered, for the support asked, and plainly be it stated, that to Sarawak it is a question of protection or ruin.

¹ Without development the Trade amounts in exports and imports to a million dollars. The population including the Provinces may be reckoned from 200,000 to 300,000. The revenue amounts to about £12,000 per annum. The Minerals are let to a Company on terms favourable to the Government.

² The present Government can command from 5,000 to 10,000 for a month's service, or six weeks on occasions.

Burrator,
30th April, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

The two dear little souvenirs of the day I scarcely bore in mind¹ shall be tenderly laid up with my other treasures. It was kind of you to think of me—and on receipt of the Forget-me-not, I plucked two violets to send back. They were culled on the 29th.

On that day likewise I received a letter from my nephew announcing all well and quiet in Sarawak and the probability of the Kayans giving up the murderers of Messrs Fox and Steel and paying the fine imposed upon them for their hostility during the past three years. This was all very pleasant.

Then I took a walk with our new curate and afterwards entertained an agreeable old couple who were evidently curious to see my menage, and thought me polite for shewing it. The day was breezy and bright with flying shadows chasing over the sunshine. Thus altogether my natal day was not unprofitably spent and I must not forget the Cuckoo's note which I heard for the first time this season on the 26th. On Monday I propose getting to Lackington and a few days after to Holly Lodge where I hope to find you free from family cares.

My best wishes are with you and ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

The next letters refer to a visit the Rajah paid to Paris, in company with Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown, to see the great International Exhibition, for which Mr Thomas Fairbairn was a Commissioner.

White Lackington,
8th May, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

Your note this morning first informed me of the day fixed for our departure for Paris and consequently I shall be at the Gt Western Terminus by Express upon Saturday at 6 P.M. and so straight to Holly Lodge. Monday will suffice for preparation and then Hurrah for Paris. The muscular Christianity of the ladies is *tremendous*—Here was I reckoning upon the prostration to follow the exertions of the week and Lo! the trumpet sounds to boot and saddle and off by land and by sea. The idea of intruding at Burrator is new and amusing! My only fear was that you would have been so attracted that you would have turned me out!—Cockoo fashion. My little nephew calls it Phoo Phoo.

¹ His birthday.

I am glad to hear the Barlows are of your party—he will resist too great an energy. I feel a propensity to vegetable existence.

Au revoir and ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

W. L.,
9th May, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I am glad you are to be free to-day from the troubles of the week. Accept my best thanks for your bumptious letter—the Missus is a whirlwind and you are the forked lightning in the midst, but nevertheless the laws of nature must be obeyed, and ponderous bodies are slow to motion—once moved they are slow to stop, therefore if the ladies to-morrow evening (Saturday) start for Paris I shall roll forward in company from H.L. and the impulse once given proceed to Moscow—or Timbuctoo if they please. Mr C. Johnson will be charmed to accept your kind invitation to H.L. but as he is not *presentable* we propose starting earlier to-morrow morning in order to transact business with Tailors, Hatters etc. *en route* to the Lodge where I hope to arrive in time for tea at 5 P.M. I postpone the rest of my sayings till to-morrow and with best wishes.

Your's ever,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Please don't smother us with blazing fires this weather! A little would serve a Salamander.

Burrator,
10th June, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I give an excellent report of myself as I am feeling really sprightly and active, and enjoy the country spite of this very chilly weather. I find however how much better I bear the cold than I did—all signs of returning health. I must relate to you my farming exploits—We have two Guernsey Cows which supply the family and feed the pigs with milk—we provide for our neighbour the Curate and send $13\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of butter pr week to market!!! A foal was born yesterday which gives me four colts—the wild ducks are both sitting. We shall have the sheep home shortly but not in time to let you hear to-day. My secretary Mr Prout is established here and he seems an agreeable young man. I have nothing more to tell. My kind kind wishes to Mrs Brown and ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
11th June, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

The sheep arrived safe and fresh, about an hour before your kind letter announcing their departure. They shall have every care to give the trial a fair chance of success and if they thrive I should like to know where to get more, for a flock to spring from one Adam and Eve Sheep would be too slow for my years, for I am not Methuselah! The Ducks as you know are thriving—the Mallard has joined the flock of tame milk white Ducks.

Our Paris excursion was so far unfortunate that most of us were ailing more or less—and the intention to be happy beyond the ordinary, often defeats itself. Yet I do not think the market gardener was there and though I was not bright, or with much capacity for active enjoyment, yet I was pleased and astonished and Paris has left a most favourable impression upon my mind.

The Missus says all that is kind and I agree with thankfulness. I will write more on the subject soon and our misfortune is having to deal with men who not only do nothing, but keep us hard at work at the same employ—Grinding dust and ashes. However positively for the last time we are to have a decision! I continue very well and have taken daily exercise spite of cold and doubtful weather. To-day so rainy and blowy and the barometer low enough for an earthquake. I shall miss the gorgeous display of the Lodge but not its leafy honours and its summer weather. I should enjoy a day of sunshine and of bees and birds, in the balmy air, better than all the flowers seen through a window. A little daisy—a bed of Veronicas—the Imperial purple of the Foxgloves would surpass all the Azaleas and Rhododendrons, if breathing in the balmy air. We must feel and taste the beautiful as well as look upon it.

I am not thinking of moving just yet, for the *vulgar reason* my stables must be looked after and I must have the money to pay for them. Only if you want me for any thing of course I will come in spite of my saving fit—which, mind, I took from the Missus. Please send me a good account of yourselves—Certainly Paris agreed with *you* for I never remember you looking better. Will you come and pay a visit to Burrator—I could easily manage to make you comfortable—with 2 ladies' ladies—and one lady's footman. I should have apartments close by.

I did not think you were going to the Derby but merely meant that ladies errant might take the fancy.

Best wishes for you from

Yours ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Meanwhile Miss Burdett Coutts and her allies, particularly Mr John Abel Smith, were still battling hard to secure the Government's interest in Sarawak. The Rajah was by now sceptical as to the result. He wrote to Mrs Brown saying "Those who hope least will be least disappointed. I vow a *pound of wax candles* at your shrine and the Missus's if it be otherwise!"

Burrator,
20th June, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

There shall be two pounds of wax candles, one for the Missus and one for your self, because it never will do to be stingy on such an occasion to the Patron Saints of Sarawak. A shady grove of yellow Bamboos—a votive shrine and two images of the Lady Saints, with wax tapers ever burning before them where Dayaks bow down—This will be your fame in 2862. In 1862 we have to wait patiently to see whether your canonization is to take place, and with good luck you will stand in the calendar next to the Japanese. Literally I have nothing to say—excepting that I am quite well and not troubling myself in the slightest about papers or business. I have finished *East Lynne*—decidedly a powerful and interesting novel.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

The following letter which Mrs Brown wrote the Rajah was never sent: "because not wanted," as a note on the envelope rather cryptically states.

Stratton Street,
Tuesday, Aug, 13th, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR JAMES BROOKE,

An indescribable change has come over the Rajah for some time past—

Does it arise from anything that might be remedied? You here called me friend—try me, treat me as one.

Ever yours sincerely,
H. BROWN.



By permission of S. Burdett-Coutts, Esq.

MRS BROWN

The next letter refers to Garibaldi's abortive attempt to drive the French from Rome, which ended in his being taken a prisoner at Aspromonte on August 29. Although the Rajah seems to have misjudged his patriotic motives he must have seen a kindred spirit in Garibaldi's unseeking devotion to a great cause.

The words of Lord Russell to which the Rajah refers were in a despatch to the British Ambassador at Turin, after the King of Sardinia had invaded the Roman and Neapolitan states: "Her Majesty's Government will turn their eyes to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their independence."

B-tor,
3rd September, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I enclose the report of Lord Russell's letter on the Italian Policy. Take care of it, for there are choice sentiments applicable to other countries than Italy! Poor, Poor Garibaldi!! How soon has the end come of his rash and misguided career against his country. We admire his great qualities of heart whilst we almost dispise the head which could have fallen into such errors. All must commiserate his misfortune and fall. Execute him they will not, but what can they do with him? The exile Garibaldi would be dangerous. The prisoner Garibaldi would gather round him the ardent sympathy of all Italy. His place of confinement would be a volcano worse than Vesuvius. What can be done?

Shall I offer D'Abyelio to give him an Asylum on his parole in Sarawak? It has crossed my mind more than once and Heaven knows he should share with us all we have, though we should not be rich enough to support his family and a staff. What do you both think? Is it rash or ridiculous?

I suppose the Missus is back to consider this weighty question.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

P.S. I went shooting and caught a wet jacket yesterday.

Burrator,
11th September, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I think you are right about Garibaldi for it certainly would be a delicate relation to a head strong man and Italy is not in a position to help us.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

In reply to the Rajah's invitation to Burrator the ladies had suggested staying at Tavistock, an idea which the Rajah had castigated as "stale, flat and unprofitable." He insisted that they must have the house while he would stay close at hand in "a very comfortable Inn." The following letter shows that they yielded to his hospitality.

Burrator,
20th September, 1862.

MY DEAR LADIES,

It rejoices me that you have visited Burrator and become acquainted with my Lares and Penates. The waterfall, the Tor, the Church are now realities and you have become acquainted with Dick and Shot, Ponto and Tray, and each and all will welcome you when you return. We may have some very agreeable rambles—one certainly to the Dewar Stone which we visited yesterday.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

The following letter from Lord Elgin (then Governor-General of India) shows that Miss Burdett Coutts's appeals to him had not been in vain. The Commissioner referred to was Colonel Cavenagh, the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Calcutta,
Oct. 18, 1862.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have sent a commissioner to Sarawak to report on the condition and prospects of the settlement. The enquiries I am making are conducted "confidentially," as we do not wish attention to be called to them; but they may be the ground eventually for some decision on the part of our Govt. / I am making these enquiries not on behalf of India but on behalf of the English F. O.

I expect Lady Elgin before the close of the year. It is fortunate that she did not come with me, for I do not think that she could have endured the 7 months which we have passed through since arrival—I have got over them pretty well myself though I have felt the Autumn a little.

Your very sincere
ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Burrator,
5th Nov, 1862.

This dear ladies, to welcome you back to Torquay. The sun is shining, the hounds are in the cover, the red coats glancing over the fields. All is bright and cheerful.

Welcome back and Welcome.

THE LADIES.

Ever thine,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
10th November, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

Thank you for offering to look about the *Stove Grate*. I wanted to give more heat in my bedroom. There was a very nice one at the Exhibition, covered with Mintons tiles, but it was too expensive, and I wanted to look for something of the same sort cheaper to answer the purpose. But I do not want to give you any trouble, unless you are actually passing Pierce's—5, Jermyn St.

I have sent a score of Welcomes upon your return to Torquay. What is the great loss you deplore? Is Cockatoo dead? or what else?

I hope soon to see you and remain

Ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
26th December, 1862.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I have to send you five blessings in return for the five sovereigns distributed to five poor people—four old women and one old man. I sent you a Christmas Card and a Catholic Carol, in return for the Missus's little and pretty missive. Your memorandum book I appropriated. May I?

I went to Church yesterday and was *shocked!!* The words in the sermon were—"The birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ—*bone* of our *bone* and *flesh* of our *flesh*—Our Saviour and *our God*". Is not this enough to frighten folks out of the Church lest it tumble upon their heads! as St John said.

Best wishes to your party and ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER VI

WHEN BROOKE MEETS BROOKE

December, 1862—March, 1863

The Rajah receives a defiant letter from Captain Brooke—He decides to go out to Sarawak at once—Miss Burdett Coutts obliges with a loan—The end of the Belgian negotiations—Charles Johnson Brooke's loyalty—The Rajah appoints Miss Burdett Coutts his successor to the Raj—He sails for Sarawak—The Ladies of the Copper Heart—Arrival in Singapore—Captain Brooke comes to meet him—The Rajah threatens to disinherit and banish him from Sarawak—Captain Brooke submits to the Rajah's authority—His attempt to justify his acts—The Rajah grants him leave of absence and promises to reconsider his case in three years.

THE Rajah now received a letter from Captain Brooke which shattered his hardly-won peace of mind. It certainly showed an attitude completely different from that disclosed in Captain Brooke's letter of January 2, and although, to a detached commentator, Captain Brooke's dislike of seeing Sarawak either handed over to a foreign Power or sold to Great Britain is sound enough, the letter does disclose a state of mind defiant to one who was his sovereign.

Great-hearted and kindly as he was in most affairs, in this the Rajah made no allowance. That Captain Brooke had lately lost his second wife and his eldest son, that he was depressed and in ill-health, counted for nothing. The Rajah remembered only that he was Sovereign of Sarawak, that his authority was being called into question by the man he had publicly proclaimed his heir and appointed his vicegerent, and without hesitation, without counting the cost to his own health and convenience, he determined to leave for Sarawak without delay.

Meanwhile he sent the letter to Miss Burdett Coutts, who made a copy of it in her own hand.

*Sarawak,
Nov. 14, 1862.*

MY DEAR UNCLE,

It gave me pain to write you such a letter as that I sent by the last mail;¹ but further and more deliberate consideration convinces me that I am right to take a firm and decided tone and so to terminate for ever the repeated negotiations with foreign Powers and also of the British Govt as far as Sarawak becoming

¹ This letter the Rajah had not received.

a British Colony. Col Cavanagh's visit here and the rumours that leaked out of his object rendered a very uneasy feeling among the Malays and gave us an inkling of how bitterly they would resent an attempt to alter their form of government or touch their slaves, and with all your influence you will find, if you ever hazard an appeal to them to sacrifice their independence, that very serious consequences will ensue.

The intelligent classes in Sarawak are not now what they were ten years ago. They know, as well as we do, what the hoisting of the English Flag means. The feeling on this Coast against the Dutch is stronger than ever. Of European government they know nothing, but there are those here who would not hesitate to tell them no good of them. You will find the Officers in the Service are one and all strongly against sacrificing the independence of the country and the expressions I have heard from them are to the effect, that they would not dare look their people in the face after such an event. There is no denying that the terms you have allowed your *friends* to offer to the British Govt amount to an absolute sale of Sarawak and its people, should the British Govt desire it.

I blush now to think that in weak moments, fearing the effects of opposing you too far, I have seemed to listen to those terms; but thank God it is I think not too late yet to save Sarawak from becoming a fifth rate British Settlement taken over unwilling with the vague purpose of keeping other nations out of it rather than to foster and develop its resources. You have the opportunity now of doing Sarawak the greatest benefit or the greatest injury. Get her British protection and you earn the gratitude of all, native and European. Sacrifice her independence by handing over to England presently or prospectively and you ruin your reputation for ever, and undo all the great work of your life.

I went over all the ground with you when I was in England, how ineffectually I remember but now that you have no pecuniary embarrassment I hope that you will see the matter in a different light. I trust that you will not push matters to extremity with me; but I am prepared to go all lengths to put an end to the present state of matters, which has kept me in anxiety for years and materially injures the prospects of Sarawak by perpetuating uncertainty. I will say no more except that it is very painful to me to write to you in this strain to hazard an absolute breach with one I have so long loved and esteemed. I am still

Your affect Nephew,
J. BROOKE BROOKE.

Burrator,
29th December, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have had a short letter from my nephew Brooke in Sarawak alluding to another letter which no doubt has been lost—It will *astound you*. He commenced by saying that after deliberating upon his previous letter he is convinced he has done right, however painful it may be—That the visit of Col Cavanagh has excited uneasiness and suspicion and that the people would resent any attempt to transfer the country—that *my proposals* amount to a *sale* of Sarawak which will be opposed in every way. He then dictates the policy which will be approved and ends with an expression of regret that he should be forced to sever from one whom he loves.

All this is *very culpable* and *very foolish* but may be regarded with calmness and met with derision—and you will agree with me that the answer should be given in person and face to face. I have sent the letter to my nephew Charles who will be here to-morrow. I shall hear his opinion and then come to you if you will have me as soon as ever I can settle my quarterly bills. I had hoped for two or three years repose—but regrets are useless and duty to be done. It is not what my nephew will do, but what he will not do, which must be looked to. He will not support my views nor will he maintain my character. However he is *my nephew* and what he has written must be kept profoundly secret. We are plucking the fruit of procrastination. Do not let this annoy you.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

Keep secret the prospect of my leaving even from Mr J. A. Smith.

Captain Brooke's first letter, which the Rajah did not receive until after the second, was extremely violent in tone. Referring to the negotiations for a transfer of Sarawak, Captain Brooke wrote, "I hesitated not one moment, but resolved to take my own course, and assert my rights and those of the people of Sarawak. Rajah, you must blame yourself. You have overstrained the bow of my patience, and it has broken at last; we must try our relative strength, and all I can say is, that if I prove the stronger I shall always bear in mind that you were the founder of Sarawak, that you *are* my relative, and that you *were* my friend. I don't write this in anger, but in calm determination."

Meanwhile the Rajah turned again to Miss Burdett Coutts for practical aid—as well as spiritual consolation.

Burrator,
30th December, 1862.

MY DEAR LADY,

You accustom me to rely upon you in my difficulties and therefore I will ask for £500 at this crisis, which I should like to be able to draw upon at *the Bank* (i.e. Coutts) on Monday next. It is very desirable to engage our passage soon.

Ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
30th December, 1862.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I now send the letter from my nephew. It is difficult to say what has occurred but plain there has been a serious disobedience which calls for instant remedy. In the most favourable view my nephew is culpable in no ordinary degree and his breach of duty has misled the people—yet you must not regard this in too serious a light, for I know my position and can shake these people till their teeth chatter. I think and hope you will urge upon me the necessity of going out at once—duty must be done, and with your encouragement I have fixed to sail from Marseilles on the 19th January. Delay might ruin Sarawak.

I will come upon Saturday¹ and pass as long a time as I can spare. But I must return here for two days and have four clear days in London so as to be in Paris at latest by the 15th—for it is part of my duty to avoid great fatigue or emotion. I wish you were or were to be in London. I must manage to arrive in Sarawak before they know of my leaving England. My nephew Charles is with me and accompanies me out—he feels this more than I do, though equally at a loss to guess his brother's acts or intentions.

Ever and ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
Tuesday, [31st December, 1862] 8 o'clock p.m.

DEAR, DEAR LADIES,

Thank you for your sympathy and help and at the latest I will come upon Saturday. It is a great moral trial. It has loomed in the distance for some years and caused me uneasiness.

¹ To Torquay.

Now it is better that the crisis has come and Believe me I will trample it under foot in a week without resistance. The fact is my nephew has been culpably distrustful and inconsistent. The natives became suspicious of the visit of Colonel Cavanagh and the rumour that the country was about to be sold to the English—my nephew, instead of allaying this not unnatural alarm by an appeal to their loyalty and trust, participated in the basest suspicion and consequently the *Council* has, with the Raja Muda's concurrence, intimated to Belgium and England that they will not concede the cession of their country—i.e. that I shall not *sell them*.

A man who has no confidence himself can never inspire confidence in others. My nephew¹ is here, and instantly upon the receipt of his brother's letter replied by the last mail repudiating his brother's act and strongly blaming his brother's conduct in toto. This is a great satisfaction and I must tell you he knew as much of the business as I did. Do not be uneasy and remember my duty is to behave with justice and it is due to my fame to be generous and forgiving. There is no need of Mr J. A. Smith meeting me, but what we want to learn is whether the British Govt has received any communication and what sort? I have a famous story of our Bishop to tell.

Again and again God Bless you and thank you as I do—I do not doubt my friends. Here is the first primula, which says to dear Mrs Brown Thank you for kindness and help.

Ever and ever your's,

J. BROOKE.

But even in the midst of his indignation, the Rajah could find it in his heart to send some verses to the Ladies on New Year's Eve:

With night the Old Year glides away
The New Year comes with Dawn of Day.
Gone Sixty two—Hail sixty three,
A Happy Year for all the Three!!

The Rajah, having reason to believe that Captain Brooke had addressed the Duke of Brabant on the subject of the Belgian negotiations without any reference to himself, wrote the following letter (copied by Mrs Brown) to the Duke before sailing for Sarawak.

¹ Charles Johnson.

London,
12th January, 63.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

Your kind consideration upon a previous occasion encourages me to lay before you a statement important alike to the Government of Sarawak and myself. I have reason to think that my nephew, Mr Brooke (with the Council), has addressed a communication to your R.H. announcing in some form his resolve not to transfer the country of Sarawak to Belgium owing to the asserted disinclination of the people to such a measure.

Your R.H. is aware how little occasion there was to make so uncalled for a declaration in a manner equally abrupt and ill considered, and I feel what a poor return it is for the interest Yr R.H. has taken in the welfare of the country and people. I must therefore deny all participation in this rash act, done without my sanction and in derogation of my authority. I am pained indeed by the deep ingratitude and must trust to your R.H. generosity to pardon this grave error on the part of a gentleman excited by the vague rumours spread abroad.

I am proceeding to Sarawak in a few days to retract and correct the mischief that may have accrued from this unlooked for mistake made by my Nephew in whom I had reposed confidence and I venture to solicit Yr R.H. aid to affect this object. For this purpose I would suggest that the unjustifiable letter from Mr Brooke should be returned to him through my hands with an intimation that all communications in future must be forwarded through the Rajah, as the only proper channel of addressing Yr R.H.

It has been an ill judged step, taken by short sighted persons little accustomed to transactions of public affairs and Yr R.H. will understand my anger and vexation at what I feel to be an unwarrantable return for your goodness. I trust it may have proceeded from ignorance and folly rather than from a worse motive and I must beseech Yr R.H. forgiveness for the act of my subordinates as well as for the liberty I have now taken in laying before you this detail and offering a suggestion to prevent such bad conduct in future.

I have the honour to be Yr R.H.

Most obedient and humble Servant,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I may observe that should the letter not have reached its destination it will most probably have been lost in the Mail Packet *Columbo*.

Private.

London,

Tuesday, 13 January, 1863.

MY OWN DEAR LADY,

The following are the matters I wish you to take care of during my absence.

1st. I have arranged for the Oriental Bank to pay quarterly to my solicitors a sum of £250. This sum is the annuity I take from the revenue of Sarawak. Now under existing circumstances *it is possible* that this supply might suddenly cease, and plunge all my people at Burrator etc in great distress. Should this occur I will rely upon you to make these payments until my affairs can be settled. My solicitors, Messrs Booty and Butt, will communicate with you through Messrs Farrer and Ouvey should a difficulty arise. Thus my mind will be at ease upon this score during my absence.

2nd. An old and faithful servant, who has followed my fortunes for twenty-five years, has a young son named James Middleton, in the care of the Revd Mr Nimms,

1 York Terrace,
Queen's Road,
Peckham.

The father's name is Joseph Middleton, and the boy about seven years of age. If you can get him into the Blue Coat School or some school of that sort it would be a great boon.

3. In case of any thing happening to me, I recommend the four following persons to your care—viz—John Prout—William Blackler—John Sauls—and Frederick Acomb. It would be a great comfort to me to know that these my poor servants, would be provided for each according to his ability.

Ever thine,

J. BROOKE.

One satisfaction the Rajah had at this time. His nephew Charles Johnson (who had taken the name of Brooke some time previously) was loyal to his uncle and cut short his leave to return to Sarawak.

To Sir James Brooke.¹

15 Cork Street,
January 14th, 1863.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

I pledge my faith to support you. I condemn my brother's acts, and have told him so, and will oppose him in

¹ Copy in the Rajah's hand.

every way to maintain your rightful authority as Rajah, and to retrieve affairs in Sarawak.

Ever yr affectionate nephew,

C. J. BROOKE.

Before leaving England the Rajah made a new will, by which he left the sovereignty of Sarawak to Miss Burdett Coutts. The details of this momentous trust, and the terms under which Miss Burdett Coutts accepted it, are made clear in the following correspondence between her and her friend and advisor, Mr John Abel Smith, M.P.

Chester Square,

[London.]

January 12, 1863.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The enclosed is, as I understood you, the purport of the important communication you made to me this evening—Pray read it and let me know whether I have rightly comprehended your meaning.

Yours very sincerely,

J. A. SMITH.

Confidential Memorandum.

London,

January 12, 1863.

I was informed this evening, and authorized to inform Lord Russell, that Sir James Brooke has been so much distressed and disappointed by the recent letters of his nephew Mr Brooke and by the line of conduct which he has declared it his intention to adopt that Sir James Brooke has thought it right and necessary to change the disposition of his Will. Sir James Brooke in his will previously existing had declared Mr Brooke, and in his default his next brother, Mr Chas Johnson Brooke (now assuming the name of Brooke in addition to that of Johnson), the heirs of his rights, powers and authority in Sarawak and the inheritors of any pecuniary claims which Sir James Brooke has or may have on the State of Sarawak on account of monies expended out of his own private resources for the advancement of the Interests of the Country and people, but by the new will now executed Sir James Brooke has substituted Miss Burdett Coutts as his general heir both of the rights acquired under grants from the Sultan of Borneo and of all his pecuniary Claims on the State of Sarawak.

Miss Burdett Coutts accepts the trust which this disposition implies with the view of holding the rights conferred by grants from the Sultan of Borneo for and on account of the Government of Great Britain if they hereafter think fit to undertake the protection of the Country or are willing to attach it to the English Crown, and in default of this, for the purpose of enabling her to make such arrangements with foreign powers as may at the time seem best calculated to secure the good Government, safety and progress of the State of Sarawak.

The fitness of the selection of Miss Burdett Coutts for this trust is strengthened by the fact that she is the principal creditor of the State of Sarawak, other than and excepting Sir James Brooke himself. Miss Burdett Coutts wishes H.M.'s Government to understand that she will not be influenced in the policy she will recommend in the event of the rights referred to devolving upon her by any desire to enforce her personal claims to the injury or inconvenience of Sarawak and that she will not allow those personal claims to be an impediment to the conclusion of an arrangement advantageous to Sarawak either with Great Britain or with any other European nation.

J. A. SMITH.

January 13, 1863.

I read over this paper to Lord Russell this afternoon at Pembroke Lodge, as well as the letter from Miss Coutts to me of this day's date enclosed and attached herewith.

J. A. S.

It is unlikely that any Englishwoman before, or since, has ever had the sovereignty of a territory bequeathed to her and the clause in question, surely one of the strangest ever penned by a subject of the British Crown, runs as follows:

"I leave, commit and devise unto Angela Burdett Coutts of Stratton Street, Piccadilly, in the County of Middlesex, Spinster, the Succession to the Raj of Sarawak. And I do hereby nominate and appoint her to be my true and lawful Successor in the dignity and office of the Rajah of Sarawak now vested in me, to be held by her, the said Angela Burdett Coutts, as a public trust for the good of the people together with the public property in which I have an interest appertaining to the State of Sarawak, in implicit confidence that she will arrange the future Government of Sarawak for the welfare of the people and for the security

and permanency of the liberties they now enjoy. And I also bequeath to the said Angela Burdett Coutts the two separate Deeds of Cession of Sarawak and the various Rivers now united under the same Government in my person. . . . And I do hereby give devise and bequeath unto the said Angela Burdett Coutts, her heirs, executors, administrators and assigns All my rent, royalties, dues, duties, rights and dignities whatsoever and all my private property, real and personal and of what nature or kind so ever (except as hereinafter mentioned)¹ . . . in the State of Sarawak aforesaid . . . for her and their absolute use and benefit. . . .

And I request the said Angela Burdett Coutts to give to my faithful friends in Sarawak a slight token respectively of my friendship which they may keep in remembrance of me and as a sign that I have nothing else to give.

To Mr John Abel Smith.²

*Stratton Street,
January 13, '63.*

MY DEAR SIR,

The enclosed embodies all the substance of the communication I made to you yesterday evening. I need only add that the arrangement is of course provisional until the return of Sir James Brooke. Having accepted a trust (however limited in time), I must contemplate the possibility of having to fulfil it—and I therefore venture to hope that, in this contingency and in the event of H.M. Government declining any interference with the Country of Sarawak, I may be allowed to ask their advice as to what European power I should offer the cession of the Deeds. My own idea is to offer them to Greece, should a firm and constitutional Government be established there. I need scarcely add, (as I dislike every sort of publicity and only accept this trust under the pressure of unforeseen difficulties and to prevent a State whose progress and interests have seemed to me closely linked with those of my own country falling into decay or being transferred unconditionally to the highest bidder) that I may reckon on Lord Russell's silence both now and as far as may be

¹ Provision for various legacies and £30,000 "due to me from the State of Sarawak," to Charles Brooke, to be paid "at the convenience of my successor," and £500 a year as interest to go to him from the revenues of Sarawak pending the discharge of this legacy.

² Draft in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand.

hereafter, and also perhaps his aid, in effecting my objects quickly and as privately as may be hereafter. I considered it my duty to place this information in his hands—as the whole subject is under the consideration of H.M. Government.

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

A. G. B. COUTTS.

The Rajah left England on January 15, with Mr Charles Brooke (as it will now be proper to call him) and Mr Charles La Touche, a friend of Miss Burdett Coutts. The party went overland to Marseilles and in Paris stayed at the Hotel Mirabeau, whither Miss Burdett Coutts sent the Rajah the following farewell letter.

Stratton Street,

January 16, 1863.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

We trust you are safe and well on your way. I did remember all your Memoranda left in your note. If the trust you have left me, falls to me to perform I will fulfil it as faithfully for the interests and welfare of your people as my abilities and powers may permit. If you are not well or prospering it is not for lack of many many affectionate wishes.

Always yours truly,

A. G. B. COUTTS.

Hotel Mirabeau, [Paris.]

16th January, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

After a sufficiently agreeable journey, considering the season, we reached this comfortable Hotel before midnight and now at noon have risen refreshed and ready for breakfast. La Touche's courier promises to be a Treasure and brought us through the intricacies of Railways and Customs without trouble. To-morrow morning we start for Lyons at 11 A.M. and next day get to Marseilles at 3 P.M. The journey thus auspiciously commenced will be continued without fatigue and once aboard the Steamer will be equivalent to reaching Singapore and soon we shall feel the sweet breezes of the South, fanning and refreshing our frames. No prospect could in such wretched circumstances, be better—but our battle in Sarawak will be fought in England in a great degree. Disapproval of Mr B's act and the return of

his letter, through Col Cavanagh or myself—A decision on the question itself and some support or means to government.

St John is the man we want at this crisis to enable me to rid Sarawak of my nephew, but unless something is done I foresee great difficulty in forming a new government. But something decisive we should get and if we do not we may consider our negociation with England as finally concluded, for Sarawak must not be ruined by delay. Greece I look upon as impracticable, for Sarawak could protect Greece quite as well as Greece could protect her. My thoughts turn to the Mighty One here—But our position is difficult and we must not be lost through hesitation.

Good Bye, may God be with you—I have many many things to say but not now.

Ever and ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Marseilles,
19th January, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY,

It is an inexpressible solace to have placed the future in your hands. My advice is, in case of my death to offer it¹ for *one month* to the British and failing a settlement place it in the hands of the Emperor.² A middle course would disturb your peace and end badly.

Ever and ever thine,
J. BROOKE.

Steamer La Bourdonnois,
21st January, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

Writing under difficulties in a rough Sea with a fair wind approaching Messina, and Etna towering in the clouds.

Thus far we have got on well. The Ship is good—The cabins clean and comfortable—The cuisine and attendance quite the right thing. I have felt *remarkably* well since I came aboard and we are just leaving winter behind us. I have been seated upon deck all the morning enjoying the sunshine. We have a party of ladies—nuns of the sacred Heart—making their passage to Cochin China to attend upon the sick of the army there. The dress is picturesque white and blue flowing robes,

¹ The Sovereignty of Sarawak.

² Louis Napoleon.

and one remnant of earthly Vanity here and there clings to the tabernacle of the flesh, for some few of these devoted-ones have blue shoes to match the robe. This is only to tell you we are well and jolly under the circumstances and I think it very doubtful whether this will reach your hands. Your Charlie¹ flourishes and gets on with English and Foreigners—he is very agreeable.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Cairo,
Monday, 26th January, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I wrote last from Messina a letter which, like Southey's little book, was literally cast upon the waters to swim to your hands or sink by the way. We lost the view of Messina, it being dark when we arrived, and we put forth again to as cross a Sea as ever tossed a vessel about to the discomfort of her living cargo of humans. It was wretched work—the *La Bourdonnois* was as fitful in her motions as Madge Wildfire, she danced and she leaped and she bowed and she swayed to and fro as her poor crazy impulses prompted—the engine broke down outright and left her ailing and drifting on the sea and so after a concatenation accordingly of petty miseries which afflict those who go down to the great deep in ships, we were thrust into the train at 7 P.M. yesterday and reached this city at 2 this morning. The train was a relief from the Ship, as we all voted.

Aboard we had from Messina the young Principe Doria, an agreeable young man of 18 and ft. 6-7" in height, with him Mr Darnell, once a clergyman of the Church of England, now, I guess, a Priest of Rome, a gentleman with look, manners, bearing, tone, dress, proclaiming "I was, and ought to be a University man, a Protestant dignitary"—so deeply are the lines and stamp of habit and education engraved upon the outer man. We had too, ten Ladies of the Sacred Heart—some pewter, some copper, a jolly rubicund lot, who could quaff champagne and talk small talk. The Lady Superior, she of the Copper heart, was a hen of the world worldly—Miss Bennet, a very handsome, shewy, acute woman with solid Romanism on her tongue and clever withal at fence—not that I ever ventured to approach that sacred Heart! No! No! I stood afar off hoping she might be

¹ Charles La Touche, a friend of Miss Burdett Coutts.

merciful to me a sinner, but she struck up a chatting or disputative acquaintance with yr Charlie which lasted for three days out of six, but afterwards a breach occurred and he has been heard to declare he did not like *that woman* and thence it is surmised she of the Copper Heart had snubbed him with a tongue sharp as the arrows of the silvery sphere. It is a mystery. He may have refused to acknowledge the Pope or may be it was an outpouring of the tender acidity of nun nature—who knows? I could tell more of the incidents of these Hearts, but my paper forbids, and I do not think them quite worthy of an extra stamp.

You are, I know, impatient to hear of Egyptian politics and Pharoahs. I can say then, with the utmost certainty, that the old Pacha is dead and nobody cares about it and there is to be a new Pacha which nobody cares about either. The dead one was called Said Pacha, he loved the French. The live one is called Ismael Pacha, he loves the English. You may rely upon this information, but whose son the dead man was, or who the live one is, no fellow can make out. They must have had fathers and mothers for the matter of that, but a mystery shrouds their parentage and education. They were born Pachas—Basta and Fate decreed. They could not help it, poor creatures—We must pity and forgive.

9 P.M. It is announced that we start for Suez at 9 oc in the morning. I have been enjoying and profiting by the day's rest without feeling in any way the worse for that tossing and discomfort of the voyage. My comrades have been more active. My Nephew rode to the Pyramids whilst La Touche and a fellow passenger have been driving and walking unceasingly during the day.

Upon the Mission which takes me out I have not been dwelling over much. It is most painful and injurious and causes great uneasiness: but not serious alarm. By forcing a settlement of the question it may be even for good in the end. But Alas! the evil of procrastination. What injustice so cruel from the strong to the weak? I read and considered your Paper attentively and concur in every word of it—The crime so far as I can see merits of no justification: but I will try to maintain a cool judgment—know thoroughly before I condemn totally. It is so unusual a matter to deal with that it needs more than usual prudence. Hardness is the easiest mode of dealing with offences, but men when they are harsh are rarely just, for a strict measure is not for man to enforce. Do justice but lose Mercy—beautiful words—and to be written upon our hearts—So I pause. This will be

sent from Suez on the 27th Inst. Good bye, dear dear Ladies.
Think of me and remember me

Ever as your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

[*Steamer*] *Alphee—Red Sea,*
31st January, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

At Suez I posted my last letter. We embarked on a lovely clear evening, with the last faint touch of winter in the air, as clear, as bright and transparent as we read of but rarely enjoy. The next day was perfection of climate and each day after it has grown gradually warmer—our winter attire has been discarded and we live in the open air by day and till 11 at night.

It is not too hot, the moon bright, the breeze fair, and the assurance of reaching Aden upon Monday in good time.

I have been settling a plan of operations with my nephew, the outline of which is as follows. I shall lay my hand upon the Bankers' account and the revenue payable in Singapore. Then, I propose assigning to the *Creditors*, all the movable property of the Sarawak government i.e. the Steamer—the gunboats—the war prahus, the guns, small arms, military stores, herd of cattle, etc., etc. I shall see Col. Cavanagh and then to Sarawak in a man-of-war. I shall get her to anchor below the Town, send my nephew up to make preparations and follow in an hour—in any case I shall land and walk up to Government House, have an explanation with Mr Brooke and the next day meet the assembled people.

The first demand of Mr B is to submit to my authority. I shall explain to the Datus and people how false Mr B has been to me and to them and then, I think, the next step must be to give Mr B permission to travel for three years. I will not pre-judge, but the more I think of it, the more I think it needful to dismiss him altogether, for it seems improbable to trust him again. This is the outline of proceedings.

We get slowly along and now it is said Tuesday is to be our day for arrival at Aden. These steamers are comfortable for 1st class passengers but miserable for 2nd class. I distrust the Machinery for nearly every day we have a stoppage on some account or other. The idea of floating in the Indian Ocean till picked up or starved is not agreeable. Your Charlie gets on very well—He is off with the Lady of the sacred Heart of Copper and

taken up with a party of Spanish Signoras and Signoritas. One has not a nose—the other has a beard and the young ladies carry tooth picks long enough to pick an elephant's tusks.

I will add a date upon our safe arrival at Aden. I am quite well and the hot weather certainly agrees with me—I bear an easy mind and have a solace which will not fail me. So farewell—my best wishes and tender thoughts are with you.

Ever and ever your devoted,

J. BROOKE.

[*S.S. Alphee.*]

14th Feby, 1863.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

You must not look upon this as a letter but as conveying a little wisdom out of the tiny book you gave me—Thus saith Marcus Aurelius—"Does any one do wrong? It is to himself, that he does the wrong—Has anything happened to thee? Well, out of the Universe from the beginning everything which happens has been apportioned and spun out to thee. In a word thy life is short—Thou must turn to profit the present by the aid of reason and justice."

All goes well.

Ever thine,

J. B.

Alphee,

23rd Feby, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

We are nearing Singapore and hope to land in two or three hours but I am told we may just catch the outgoing mail home, and so prepare a few lines to meet the chance.

We have progressed slowly, and safely, and are four days after our proper time. I was troubled with a raging tooth, but it is now right again and I hope to avoid extreme measures with this, or other culprits. No doubts trouble me, as I approach the scene of action—the spirit rises with the occasion and when I meet the assembled people I shall be young again. This is only to announce our arrival and shall be kept open till the last moment.

God be with you,

Ever your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

My Journal at Singapore.

23 February, 1863. Just too late for the mail. Landed at 10 a.m. Drove to the Bank and other places. Folks surprised to see me, but not a whisper of what had occurred at Sarawak. Went aboard Her M.S. Scout and arranged with Captain Corbett to go over, after the arrival of the Mail, in the "Coquette." *Rainbow* daily expected.

24th. Transferred the balance at the Bank to my account *solely*. Consulted Mr Logan upon the assignment of the *Rainbow* to the Creditors. Dined with Captain Corbett and returned to the Hotel. At 11 p.m. a note from Mr Brooke to his Brother announced his arrival in the *Rainbow*. Thus we meet upon fair terms.

25th. At 7 a.m. C.B. went to his Brother and I went aboard the *Rainbow*. Mustered the Officers, explained to them what had taken place, and demanded whether they were true to their Rajah? All true to the backbone. This was the first they had heard and they were taken by surprise. I then told them that no order was to be received excepting from me and if Mr B came aboard they were to tell him so and hold no other communication. This was well done and the Steamer in my hands! C.B. in the mean while had gone to his Brother, with a message that if he submitted to my authority I would see him at 12 o'clock, if not we would meet no more. At the same time the position in which he stood was explained to him.

He would not say explicitly that he submitted, for upon what ground (he asked) could I stand if I did so? I sent C.B. back to tell him I gave him a quarter of an hour for his decision; if he submitted I would hear what he had to say in his justification, if not the following letter was to be handed to him, the contents to be made known to him beforehand:

Singapore,
25th February, 1863.

MY NEPHEW,

I disinherit you and banish you from the territory of Sarawak for the crimes you have committed against the State and against myself; but in three years, at your brother's urgent request, I have consented to reconsider your case with a view to the interests of Sarawak.

Your Uncle and Rajah,

Mr Brooke Brooke.

J. B.

Upon this Mr B gave in his submission, and intimated his wish to leave Sarawak to Travel! He declared at the same time that he *alone* was responsible for what had been done. He had addressed Lord Russell and the Duke of Brabant, protesting against the transfer of Sarawak to England or Belgium. He had not consulted the Council or mentioned the subject to a *single person* in Sarawak. He had acted solely on his own judgment and responsibility!!

At Midday we met. Present Sir J.B., Mr B., Mr C.B. and Mr La T. The interview opened by Sir J.B. saying "I have come, my nephew, to demand an account of the trust I placed in your hands." Mr B replied, "Rajah I submit to your authority. I cannot resist and I will do nothing to injure Sarawak, but I have done what I thought I had a right to do. I am ready to leave the country." The Rajah remarked "I think your decision is wise." He then made a statement of the facts of the following purport: "Sarawak was now placed in a position of danger in consequence of Mr B's conduct. He had come out to maintain his position, to exert his authority, if necessary, and to retrieve affairs. In September, 1861, at Mr Brooke's request he had publicly invested him as Rajah Muda and thus placed a sacred trust in his hands. At the same time the bases of any negotiations agreed upon and pecuniary arrangements made by which the compensation which might be received in lieu of the Rajah's rights, was made over to Mr B. who expressed himself satisfied.

"In January, 1862, Mr Brooke recommended the transfer of Sarawak to a European power and 'if cleverly and quietly done he anticipated little or no opposition or difficulty.' From 1861 till October, 1862, Mr B's correspondence was of the usual friendly character and the Rajah continued in the belief of the mutual confidence and trust in each other's integrity, when in January, 1863, he was astonished by the receipt of Mr B's letter announcing that he had violated his trust, defied his authority, subverted his Government and was prepared to resist him by force, because his (Mr B's) rights had been suppressed and overlooked.

"A Letter of the 14th November was much to the same purport. In the face of this revolt the Rajah had come out to hear Mr B's justification. Let him now explain his conduct?"

Mr Brooke replied "that he had done what he considered right under the circumstances and from the urgency of the case there was no time for delay. Mr St John had addressed a

secret report to Lord Russell advocating measures injurious to Sarawak and totally ignoring his (Mr B's) rights and claims. That this paper had been shewn to him and excited a just indignation; it was of an outrageous character and he had not hesitated to assert his own rights"—(Extracts were read from Mr St John's report which in no way bore out this statement)—“and he had accordingly addressed Lord R[ussell] protesting against the transfer of Sarawak. That he had a right and authority to act independently, as the Rajah had promised in 1859 to resign in his favour and that by making him Rajah Muda in 1860 he had virtually done so. Many who heard the Rajah's address in Court, had so understood him and it was accordant with native custom. Upon these two points he rested his justification: 1st, the emergency; 2nd, his right of independent action.”

To this the Rajah rejoined “That he permitted no question of his position and rights. He was the Rajah and Mr B his Representative in Sarawak. That whenever the Rajah resigned, the title deeds by which he held the country would be transferred to his successor. It was true that in 1859 he proposed to resign in Mr B's favor, but Mr B's want of straight forward purpose, his inconsistency and tergiversation, had frustrated his intention, and nearly led to a rupture. That in 1861, when Mr B was made Rajah Muda, there had been no mention or thought on his part of independent authority, and his correspondence was that of a representative and subordinate. That native custom was as much one way as another (a case was mentioned of a Rajah Tuah who resumed his position). Such precedents were contradictory, as in native States it was simply a question of individual influence. Upon the Second head there was no valid plea of pressure; whatever the question it would of course have come formally before the Council for decision, but in this case the British government had not noticed Mr St John's report. What then was the haste? What had Mr St John's views to do with the Rajah or Rajah Muda? But it appeared that because a British officer communicated his ideas to his own government the Rajah Muda had revolted against the Rajah and subverted the Constitution of Sarawak by acting without consulting his Council. What justification could there be for this breach of duty? Why should Mr B recommend the transfer in January, and protest against it in October, 1862? It could not be on account of doubts, touching his (Mr B's) pecuniary claims, for Mr B had under the Rajah's hand the voluntary gift of the Compensation, whatever the amount. The Rajah had sacrificed his own rights

to advance Mr B's interests and Mr B had repaid him by breach of trust and threats of violence. It was an outrage upon every feeling of duty, and affection.—'The relationship between us has been torn up by the roots, and every tie ended—Revolt ends all obligations and all claims' ". . . With more to the same purport.

This was the substance of what passed, and upon the close (in the words as put down), Mr B could no longer control his agitation and burst into tears. Upon which the Rajah rose and said "It is needless to continue. If you apply to me for leave of absence I will grant your request." He held out his hand and added "I have no ill will towards you. I wish you well." They shook hands and so parted.

26th. The accompanying note from Mr Brooke received this morning (No 1), the Rajah's reply (No 2), and, after a long conversation with Mr La Touche, Mr Brooke's application and the permission to leave Sarawak.¹

Thus this disastrous and threatening prospect was brought to a favorable issue and the affairs of Sarawak retrieved. It is just to Mr B to add that after committing himself by his letters he never took a step to carry out his avowed intention, that he prevented any native uneasiness by explaining the purpose of Col. Cavanagh's visit, and on the receipt of the Rajah's letter he faithfully declared to the people the message he was ordered to deliver. He received notice of the Rajah's approach by telegram from London and he met him in Singapore to prevent the discussion taking place in Sarawak, but after making every allowance he cannot be acquitted of guilty intentions, weakly carried out. God has been very good to Sarawak and one more success may place her in safety.

Ever yours,

J. B.

Enclosures.

Letter No. 1 from Mr B. Brooke to the Rajah.

Singapore.

26th February, 1863.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

Our interview terminated so abruptly yesterday, that I left you without hearing what your intended commands were.

¹ *Vide* page 168.

I shall be glad to know whether you intend to prevent my return to Sarawak.

Your Nephew,

J. BROOKE BROOKE,

Rajah Muda of Sarawak,

Administering the Sarawak Government.

Reply of the Rajah to the above.

*Singapore,
26th Feb^y, 163.*

MY NEPHEW,

In reply to your note I say that as you have submitted to my authority and expressed your willingness to proceed upon leave of absence I have no intention to prevent your return to Sarawak upon gaining my permission to do so. I can give no pledge on this subject beforehand as it must depend upon the circumstances at the time and your own conduct.

At your brother's request I have consented to give your case as favorable a re-consideration as I can with a view to the interests of Sarawak and my own feelings will lead me to do at the proper time.

Your Uncle and Rajah,

J. BROOKE.

Letter No 2 from Mr Brooke Brooke to the Rajah.

*Singapore,
26th February, 163.*

DEAR RAJAH,

I wish to go on leave of absence. Not only is it better for Sarawak that there should be no chance of a collision in Sarawak; but my health requires a decided change. But I have no money or means at present (my money is gone into the Sugar Company) therefore I shall be glad if you will allow me £500 a year during my absence which will make me comfortable and you can cut it short if I misbehave myself. I have desired Mr La Touche to express to Miss C that I regret those two letters I wrote under great irritation and I am very sorry to have pained you. Without reference to me you must and ought not to stay out here too long.

Yours,

J. BROOKE BROOKE.

P.S. The Doctors say my little girl should stay out another year on account of her health; then I should like her to be brought home by Mrs Cook.

Letter No 2 from Rajah to Mr Brooke Brooke.

*Singapore,
26th Feby, /63.*

DEAR BROOKE,

I think your resolve a wise one, both for the welfare of Sarawak and your own happiness and it has gratified me. The arrangements for the £500 shall be made as you wish. I have been deeply pained by this affair and you may believe that my affection for you was the occasion of it. I wish you health and happiness.

Yours affect. Uncle,
J. BROOKE.

P.S. Do you wish the Pentys to stay till your little girl goes home with Mrs Cook to act as her immediate nurse?

1st March—May I ask you, dear Ladies, to make this journal known to Knox and Fairbairn and if not too much to send a copy to St John. Mr J. A. Smith will rejoice to read and of course I give a full discretion to use the contents of this letter. Mr Brooke will leave for England in a few days, by the next steamer.

2nd March—The last day—Mr B leaves on the 4th inst for Egypt—a telegram will announce the issue and place you out of suspense earlier than we had hoped. La Touche has been most useful and active and we are very fond of him. He and Charles Brooke sailed for Sarawak on the 28th ult. It is all plain sailing now and we look forward to a decision from H. Majst Govt upon the report of Col. Cavanagh, which I understand to be favorable. We must be put out of suspense soon for we cannot let the Car of Jaggernaut crush us as victims.

I enclose too a note for Monsr Goffinet to undo the mischief done. Will you please read and send if approved.

The mail not signaled yet, therefore I will despatch this bulky letter and send another if necessary in reply to those I may receive. *Rainbow* will reach Sarawak tomorrow morning. The coup d'état is complete.

Ever thine,
J. B.

CHAPTER VII

THE RAJAH IN SARAWAK

March—September, 1863

The Rajah receives a tumultuous welcome at Kuching—Friction with the Bishop—A cruise in search of pirates—The Rajah in Council decrees that Captain Brooke shall forfeit the rank of Rajah Muda—Captain Brooke returns to England and attacks the Rajah—Justice of his claims discussed—Miss Burdett Coutts's uncompromising attitude—The Sarawak Chiefs warn Captain Brooke that "the son who resists his father is accursed"—Miss Burdett Coutts agrees to grant a loan of £3000 for a gunboat—The Rajah's confidence in his nephew Charles, the Tuan Muda—The Rajah finally disinherits Captain Brooke for crimes committed against the State—Mr Gladstone opposed to Protection for Sarawak—The British Government recognizes Sarawak as an Independent State—British Consul appointed—The Rajah leaves Sarawak for England.

*Sarawak,
10th March, 1863.*

MY DEAR LADIES,

I arrived here upon Friday the 7th amid every demonstration of welcome and attachment, public and personal. Nothing could be warmer or kinder or more conclusive of the feelings of the people towards their Rajah and as it was with the natives so likewise with my own countrymen. Strange to tell that not a single native knew there was any difference between Mr Brooke and myself, and therefore, after it had been explained to the members of Council and other Chiefs as well as to the English officers of government, I coincided in their opinion that it would be better to avoid an unnecessary exposure in public and so let the affair gradually be forgotten.

Mr B's conduct is universally condemned and I cannot perceive that he has any hold upon the feelings of the people, or that they are the least concerned at his unlooked-for departure. In a few months he will sink into oblivion, and although his revolt has been upon paper only, yet I have no intention of overlooking an offence which threatened such fatal consequences and which could only have been prompted by a total want of proper feeling towards myself and Sarawak. After three years I will reconsider the case, as favorably as I can, but it must be decided

upon the interests of the State and his fitness to be its ruler—I never can trust him again!

Upon Saturday I called together about forty of the chief people (including the members of the Council) and explained to them the negotiations which had been going on. I told them that any proposals would at the proper time be laid before their Council—therefore there could be no cause for disquiet, that I advised them now, as I had ever done, to be careful of the rights which belonged to a free people; but that the British government would protect those rights, and that as for a transfer to the British Crown at the present time I did not believe it was contemplated, but on the contrary that the desire of the British was to help Sarawak, in the way most agreeable to the feelings of her people. That the government of Sarawak could not stand without support—as they well knew—and this support, if England would give it, they as wise men must accept. That we might remain quite at rest till we knew the wishes of the British government and that whatever those wishes were, we could not reject them without drawing down upon the country the most serious evils—that it was not a matter of choice but of necessity and for my own part I trusted the British ministers, and knew they would do nothing to injure Sarawak—“With more to the purpose.”

They were quite as reasonable and as willing to be guided as I ever found them, and I do not believe they have even been really uneasy upon these negotiations—though exaggerated rumours got abroad, and are repeated by the poorer classes with variations and additions. I must here tell you a striking remark made by the Datu Bander, our chief minister—Upon the occasion of Col. Cavanagh's visit Mr B explained to the natives the great advantages of British Protection, when the Datu Bander remarked: “True—we have a fine garden full of fruit and flowers, which our neighbours may pluck for their own use, for we have no fences to protect it. But if the English will fence our garden round, what more can we desire, and it would be only fair they shared the fruit and flowers with us.” It was prettily put and you may be sure the people generally value the help of England, and will most readily accept it. What they fear is that their religion may be interfered with, their slaves liberated, and heavy taxes imposed—*nolens, volens*—just causes of apprehension.

Yesterday (Monday) I met the people in Court and made them a long speech much as above related. I told them Mr B had returned to Europe and that I had resumed the government and had brought the Tuan Muda with me, who was of one mind

with myself and in whom they might confide. It passed off famously. I must tell you likewise that our able Datu Bander, upon hearing of Mr B's bad conduct, advised strongly that it should not be brought publicly forward for, he said, it is a family affair—nobody has heard of it and it would not be wise to expose to the people that there was a division between the Rajah and Rajah Muda—as a family affair let the Rajah deal with it—he may cast off his son, or beat him well in his own room—he can do whatever is his pleasure.

So let this wretched affair end, and with sorrow I admit my nephew to be unworthy of my affection and unfit to rule this country!

The Bishop of Labuan has been ill—We have met and go through the civilities of ordinary social life—The Mission is just as far from harmony as ever—There has been no collusion with Mr B. The Borneo Co L[td] wrote in great alarm about my sudden return being likely to cause disturbances! !—How did they guess this? and they spoke of giving up their works at any loss! Will they be disappointed at this peaceful solution? My measures of correction will be steadily taken, and I have no doubt there will be a change for the better in the removal of Mr B and other such steps.

The arrangements with England I hope to inaugurate myself in a few months, and then home about October—I am well and happy here but prefer the repose of England (when to be had) and all our pleasant ways—I don't want to begin life again with its attendant anxiety and labour. Farewell—in haste,

Ever your's sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Charley La Touche is a great favorite and I shall be sorry to lose him—He managed Mr B famously. I hope to hear you are well and enjoying Torquay.

Sarawak,

10th March, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY,

These few lines apart—I want to ask whether I may use the £3,000 you let me have, in whole or in part, to build a steam gunboat which is greatly required for service upon the coast.¹

¹ Among the papers is a half sheet of notepaper (undated) containing suggestions, in the Rajah's hand, for the steamer's name: "Angelina—a diminutive of a proper name which would bear translation into Malay—Heartsease, Butterfly, Pixie, Tiny, Midge, Sprite, Spite, Pearl, etc., etc.,—to be considered."

The culprit has been removed, which caused you to distrust the government, and matters with England approach a favorable termination. The two other measures *after recognition* are—A Sarawak Bank and Chinese Immigration, but these are not immediate.

I shall go into the accounts of revenue and expenditure in a day or two but what I hear and see I judge favorably, though money has been spent in a wrong direction—re upon building a big fort. I will write again soon—Every thing is prosperous and I am quite well.

Ever and ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
15th March, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

This is to be a loose journal from the present date till the next departure of the *Rainbow*—Upon the 10th inst the *Coquette* and *Rainbow* left, the former for Labuan, the latter for Singapore where she will be docked for her half-yearly cleaning. This will detain her about a week over her usual voyage—and keep us so long without our letters. Directly upon the departure of the vessels Sarawak fell into its ordinary quietude during the Mahomedan fast month—and having upon this account postponed the meeting of Council I relapsed into the dull routine of daily life, as though I had never been away. A dull but to me a pleasant routine—Rising about six, enjoying the freshness of the morning—At 7 a cup of tea, and two small slices of toast—reading some book, more serious than a novel—writing what there is to write, and receiving all comers—listening—talking—advising and inquiring—passes the time till 10 A.M. Breakfast at 11—Across the river—to Court or to office, till 2 or 3 P.M.—Home—Lounging, with novel, or siesta, and at 5—out for a ride, or a stroll—Dinner at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7—usually a party of six—try to make the conversation lively—Bed about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 and quiet slumbers.

This is the daily current of life, but ever and anon the placid stream meets with an obstructing rock, and boils and foams till the difficulty past, then it subsides into its ordinary channel. Thus last evening, when about to take my ride, an alarm of fire arose, and before I could reach the spot the fierce column of fire was blazing high and consuming all before it. Close at hand,

was a large thatched sago factory—the fire was devouring a row of blacksmiths' shops—but every precaution of men, and water, (short of a fire engine) having been taken, an hour saw the fire dying out, the crowd dispersed, and I returned home to prepare for dinner. This was the morning and evening of Saturday 14th March, 1863.

16th March—I will here take a brief retrospect of recent events. It is certain that Mr Brooke had not said a word of his proceeding to the native Chiefs or people. The Council was not consulted which in itself was a great offence. To the English officers of the higher rank he had mentioned his angry feelings, and the cause, viz the report made by Mr St John to Lord R[ussell] in which his name was scarcely noticed—his claims not prominently set forth!! To the Bishop and Mrs McDougall he had probably told most, if not all, he had done, but there is no evidence whatever of their advising or aiding, or even of their approval of his acts. He stood alone, and, after threatening me and taking the government into his own hands, so far as writing to Lord Russell and the Duke of Brabant went, he seems to have taken no further step towards carrying his threats into execution. His guilt did not extend to action but in my view, this exonerates but slightly for it is clear the consummation was hopeless, and the attempt likely to bring ruin on Sarawak. Thence he shrunk from the attempt, but the wicked intent was in the mind, and for this I can find no excuse. It would have been carried out had the power been equal to the will!

No government can be safe in the hands of a man subject to such outbursts of unreasoning passion. I have fixed three years as the period for taking into reconsideration the circumstances of Mr B's position and he asked for leave of absence with the knowledge that he was not to return to Sarawak without my permission. But the question is whether he will abide quietly for my decision. He is as variable as the wind in a variable climate. At Singapore he agreed to go away one day and the next talked of returning to Sarawak to stand his *trial* as a British subject! One day he expressed himself sorry for what he had done and obliged to La Touche for his advice—the next he told him it was un-English to make a report to my friends of his proceedings!! This shews the blind and stupid impulses of the man.

There are two modes in which he might attempt to annoy me—1st, By returning suddenly after my leaving the country—2nd, By trying to make out some sort of legal claim.

The first I shall guard against, the second I consider mere

foolishness; and by making him an allowance I keep a hold upon him for good behaviour. Pray, however, think over and advise upon these points but at any rate I do not wish to postpone my return home later than next October—six short months, but yet how long. Now the case stands that if I am wanted at home, and can be more useful there than here, Home I will come, but my own view is that if any arrangement be at hand with the British govt I shall be better here to carry it through. Only—Only—Only let this our salvation come quickly for we are weak, and the government so unequal to the responsibilities imposed upon it, as to be a bar to the progress of the country.

17th March. One of my first measures after being settled was to appoint a Committee of Finance, and so far as I can see the financial position is satisfactory—i.e. there is no pecuniary pressure and a revenue sufficient to maintain more efficient establishments than formerly—not enough to develop the country, but enough to sustain it—and it seems certain that the protection or recognition by England would advance the government to a great extent. Gradually I am learning the measures of my nephew and there is no fault to be found with him in the details of administration. He has neglected to build a steam gunboat and instead has been hard at work on an earthen fortification, much too large for our means of garrison—I want the Steamer but the fortress will have its use and is to be completed gradually.

18th March. Had a long interview with the Bishop and Mr Chambers, but to bring my story down to this point I must resume my retrospect. Shortly after my arrival I sent for Mr Chambers, and told him that I thought a frank explanation would be useful, and therefore I told him that I was aware it was attributed to me, instigating the strictures made by Mr St John upon the Bishop¹—that I had guarded myself by writing out that I had never been acquainted with the contents of Mr St John's work till it was published and that I was not inclined to take any public part in the controversy, or express a public opinion upon its merit unless called upon, to do so—That I had parted from the Bishop in England in no unfriendly manner and our meeting should be upon the same terms, but I was bound to say that after what had passed he could not expect me to regard him with the same confidence I had formerly done—it would be simply impossible. Mr Chambers remarked, it was understood I had forgiven the

¹ Some of Spenser St John's observations on the Bishop of Sarawak, and on the conduct of the Borneo Mission, in *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, had caused ill feeling.

Bishop and overlooked what he had done. This was true, I replied, if by forgiveness, he meant that I bore no malice, and desired no revenge, but that the want, sprung out of a man's actions and it was impossible to trust contrary to our judgment. However I bore no ill will and it was for the peace of our small society that no division or ill feeling should be manifested, or presumed to exist. Public objects as well as private concord required social agreement, and having spoken plainly, there was no reason to prevent the Bishop and myself from meeting in Society. So our conference ended but the Bishop had at once called upon me and I had returned his formal call, and thus so far as society was concerned there was no disturbance of harmony.

I afterwards told the Bishop that I considered it proper to explain to him and Mr C what had occurred, so that he might be rightly informed of Mr Brooke's conduct and the position of the government in consequence of it—Thus our meeting yesterday. I explained to both gentlemen what had happened—pointed out the danger, now averted, and the certain ruin to Sarawak from strife. They read the correspondence and both declared it to be unaccountable and unheard of. The Bishop emphatically declared that he had been ignorant of Mr Brooke's proceedings and both concurred that a final settlement of the affairs of the country ought to be made. I stated that in the present position of the government I looked for prudence and discretion from the British inhabitants, and an example of it from the Clergy. Thus ended our conference, but I may add that during it the Bishop said that Mr B, in building the New Fort, had a *vague idea* of resisting the transfer of Sarawak to a European nation! He likewise said—and it is generally agreed—that there was no excitement or alarm amongst the people upon the occasion of Col. Cavanagh's visit. Mr B quietly explained its object, and the Council and people as quietly received what he told them.

20th March. Yesterday went over the same explanation to Messrs Watson, Hay, and Crookshank.¹ Mr Watson prayed me to treat leniently a fault committed in the heat of passion, arising out of false impressions!! Mr Crookshank preserved silence, he being no sympathizer with Mr B. But Mr Hay on the contrary placed a mild construction on Mr B's letters and reduced his conduct to an assertion of his own rights—at least it was only a *private affair*—this was the strain—which I interrupted by telling him that I should not discuss the question but with such sentiments he must send in his resignation. This is

¹ Officers of the Sarawak Government Service.

the only manifestation of feeling in favor of Mr B which I have met with. I afterwards let Mr Hay know he could not honestly serve the government as supporter of Mr Brooke's, and that as a government officer he must be prepared to act against Mr B as against everybody who should disturb the peace. Upon these terms he was willing to remain, and it was convenient to keep him. He has lived upon the most intimate terms with Mr B and is attached to him—the feeling is praiseworthy in the man, but I *note it* in the public officer.

21st March. Arrived Mr Knevell commanding the Gun Boat "Leven" with the information that the "Barrosa" frigate was at the entrance of the river, the "Scout" expected in a day or two and four other gunboats on their way from China to rendezvous at Sarawak—In all seven vessels under *sealed orders*. The conclusion I have come to is this—first this movement has nothing to do with Sarawak and second that the squadron may be intended to act against the Lanuns in the Sulu sea, or as demonstration against Dutch encroachments in Sumatra. Either way, it does not interest us, but the mass ferments and we may wait till it is baked.

This is the "Hari Ria"—the first day of the month Sawah after the yearly fast. On this day there is forgiveness of sins, reconciliation of disputes, visiting from House to House and all the bravery of the country is displayed. I have just been holding a Levee of gaily well dressed folks—the Chivalry and the Priesthood of Sarawak. I told them of the seven ships under sealed orders at the mouth of the river. Perhaps, I said, they were coming to attack Sarawak: what should we do? fight or surrender? Surrender by all means, was the general voice, and so we discussed what might be their real object. But there was no more fear than there would be in England at the advent of seven Sarawak ships at Plymouth.

22nd. I had written thus far when I received your welcome letters of the 9th Feb. First I must say that they were deficient in postage and so had to pass through the hands of B[orneo] C[ompany] L[td] before getting to me. The postage is 1s. 3d for $\frac{1}{4}$ oz and 1s. 6d for $\frac{1}{2}$ oz via Marseilles. I rejoiced to hear you had been enjoying fine weather and pleasant society at home and that you were meditating a flight to Town for the Drawing Room and other ceremonials of the new Court. May God give that young couple happiness and peace both public and private.¹

¹ The Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra, who were married on March 10, 1863.

How bright the prospect but what mortal wisdom can shield from the convulsions of society, or the clouds of domestic discord!

Charles Brooke goes on quietly and firmly. I do not think there is any sympathy with his brother, but on the contrary a deep feeling of the wrong meditated and a firm conviction of the inevitable ruin which would follow the attempt. Mr Brooke has no confidence in his brother, and would not have been influenced by him. I rejoice that I came myself. The Bishop and his lady I do not trust, and our intercourse will be limited by what is required by good taste, and the peace of society.

The Borneo Compy *I know* and am taking measures to change the Agency of the government: Priests and merchants however are both inclined to the transfer of Sarawak to England, for it would increase the profits of their respective callings. You may be quite sure I shall not "Trust again to be again deceived." The Mission I believe is much, as ever—peace and charity do not make their abode there.

24th March. This morning I held my first Council at 8 A.M. Present Datu Bander, Mr Crookshank, Tuan Imaum, Tuan Katib and Haji Mataim. I went minutely over the late occurrences and the conduct of Mr Brooke. I pointed out the crime against myself and the country and the ruin which it had nearly brought upon Sarawak. I described what had passed in Singapore—my surprize and my joy that this was the work of a single man—that my people and these my friends had not even heard of it—I told them I had sent the offender away for three years and that I had promised his brother after three years to review the circumstances but that I had not—nor would—engage to restore him to his position and rank. I would judge then how far it would be for the interest of Sarawak. Further I deprived him of his rank of Rajah Muda and did not recognize him as my successor till he was formally restored to it, before all the people.

Who (asked the Bander) in case of my death in the interval would be my successor? I replied that I had provided against the contingency by appointing a friend whom I could implicitly trust to become the ruler of Sarawak in the event of my death—that their rights would be respected, their wishes attended to and the proper measures taken to place Sarawak in security—that this had been my object for the last six years and would be the object of my successor. They might rely upon my successor as they relied upon me; for that, dead or alive, I would be responsible!! They were satisfied for they relied upon me

and would rely upon the person I had chosen to rule over them after me.

The Bander was the spokesman and occasionally the other members expressed their sentiments—but the substance was as follows—When he (the Bander) first heard what the *Tuan Besar*¹ had done, from the Tuan Muda,² he could not speak for astonishment. It was beyond thought—a bad dream. Had he consulted the Council it could not have happened. Had he shewn them the letters he had written they would have torn them from his hands to prevent their being sent. No one in the country—man, woman or child—would follow him. They all in their hearts held to the Rajah and no one else during his life. That what the Rajah had said was just and they concurred in it. He must deal as he thought fit and the *Tuan Besar* must stay away for three years and then depend upon the Rajah's clemency.

Nothing could be nicer than the manner they received what I said, and treated the subject. They were affectionate and reasonable—no flattery or fawning, but manly sentiments. I told them in conclusion that my own feelings and their advice decided me not to inflict a public disgrace upon my nephew, but they must all drop the title of Raja Muda and call him Tuan Besar as formerly and their example would be followed by the people in general. We then fell into conversation upon the future of the country and they were as sensible in their views and as well aware of the dangers of their country as myself. I will reserve the subject however until I convene the Council to consider the proper measures for the future—but I am sure they will not resist any course for the good of their country.

Distrust—if they have ever felt it, which I doubt—has been excited by suspicions, appearing in the Ruler, of a dishonest and under hand course being pursued. The loyalty of my people is clear as daylight and they will respond to candid and upright dealing. So all's well that ends well.

As I was writing the "Bustard" Gunboat passed under my window with Captain Dowell aboard, of the "Barrossa" Frigate. We have now five men-of-war in the river and the "Scout" frigate, Captain Corbett commanding officer, may be expected hourly. They are going (it is said) to look after Pirates—But where and How?

26th March. I may devote today's journal to a little general gossip—Charlie La Touche returns today from a short cruise in one of our gunboats. He leaves us in the *Rainbow* and spite

¹ Captain Brooke Brooke.

² Mr Charles Brooke.

of his programme for travel on his route home, I believe you will have him with you as soon as steamer and rail can bring him to Stratton Street. He is such an agreeable cheery fellow and so kind and obliging to every one, that I have grown quite fond of him, and Charlie Brooke and he have taken surprizingly to each other. They are regular Chummies. I have put in La Touche's charge Copies and translations of the Deeds of Cession of Sarawak regularly attested.¹ I shall bring home the originals myself to be placed in security as recent events have been a warning to me. Besides this Charlie is to bring you some tea.

I enjoy the climate and I am very well in health here and there are many agreements and interests, but after all I shall be glad to get home and do not intend to postpone my return later than October excepting for some urgent necessity. I ought to be here to carry out any arrangements, but short of this, shall not be led on to stay, for I would rather come home for a year, and come back, than continue out, with the wear on the constitution which is sure to take place after a few months. It is impossible to be so free from daily thought and anxiety here, as at home, and I do not wish to begin the world again. The quiet society of my friends—the ease of Stratton Street or the solitude of Burrator—the cup of tea—Oh! that grateful cup of tea—the exotic and native flowers, the pleasures of the fire side, or of a sunny day, however rare, all are remembered and longed for, and it is no treason to Sarawak to long for rest.

Writing of Burrator, I must tell you that I have received a manuscript in Cuneiform characters from John Sauls, informing me (so far as I can understand) that he waits for your commands touching the ponies and dogs. I have told him to address you to inquire your pleasure, which I might more simply have done myself had I not desired to exercise your erudition and ingenuity. Good bye today.

27th March. Again the gunboats with a party of officers, and in the evening arrived Captain Corbett of the "Scout" frigate, the commanding officer of the Squadron, composed of eight men-of-war. Their orders are to look after pirates, and for this purpose they will cruise amongst the Natuna and Sambilan groupes of Islands off the coast of Borneo, and about the different rivers and creaks between Sambas and Datu and afterwards beat up our shore to Labuan and the North. This is very well but "Too late," the severe lessons of last year² most likely having

¹ *Vide* p. 34.

² The destruction of a pirate fleet by the *Rainbow*.

taught the pirates not to touch the same grounds this year. I cannot help thinking that the force, under pretence of finding pirates, is intended to effect other objects or at any rate to make a demonstration that England is no longer indifferent to affairs in the Archipelago. Time will shew.

28th March. I must now close my journal, which has been a pleasure to write day by day. Tomorrow at daylight Charlie La Touche leaves in the Steamer for Singapore. Charlie Brooke at the same time starts his tour of inspection and the day following I go in the "Scout" to the Natunas on the cruize against pirates. I shall be away for a week or ten days as I wish to acquaint the native chiefs with the object of the men-of-war and to establish a rapid intelligence should the pirates make their appearance.

And now farewell, dear friends, the companions of my solitude. Let my sister know about me.

Farewell and ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I go on this cruize because I think it well to identify Sarawak with the operations.

H.M.S. "Scout,"

9 April, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY,

This is to be a short letter in case I should not find opportunity of another despatch, when I reach Sarawak. The day after the date of my last, I joined this frigate, and was received with *royal honours*. Captain Corbett is a gentlemanly and agreeable companion, and made me very comfortable aboard. We visited the Natuna Islands—the Tambilan and Burong islands—the mouth of the Sambas river, and along the coast; and the various cruizers were placed ready for the Pirates, if they will be kind enough to come. My part was to talk to the principal men of the islands, and arrange their co-operation, and speedy conveyance of information.

I thought it prudent to connect Sarawak with this movement, and hope I may have been useful towards furthering its success. But it is like searching for mosquitoes with elephants. Experience is wanting and the example of the Dutch proves how little can be done *merely by cruizing*. Gain certain information, and then once in two or three years crush the strong-holds of Piracy. A gunboat or two would be enough to watch the Coast afterwards, and thus a great economy of ships. My memo upon

Piracy of 1845, and the despatch to Lord Stanley upon the same subject in 1852, explain this plan fully.

About 4 o'clock P.M. I am to go aboard the Leven G[un] B[oa]t and shall be in Sarawak tomorrow afternoon. I shall be very glad to be at home again, for with every alleviation ship-board is not pleasant. Time passes, and day by day I look to the return for which I long. I have "the longing for confirmed tranquillity." Time passes, and I look forward. Love to you both, and happy days and bright weather.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
18th April, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

This is to be a continuance of my journal, to tell you of the few events which have occurred since I last wrote. The steamer has now been gone three weeks, and everybody is in a fidget for her return with two mails—i.e. a month's budget—she had to be docked, and the Commander to be married, and this conjunction naturally would lead to delay. But delay brings the possibility of accident to mind and this is not pleasant, for *Rainbow* is not only an emblem of Hope, but likewise a Reality of trust. In the interim nothing can be more agreeably monotonous than our life—plenty to do in a quiet way, and much to think about, but an unvarying routine very pleasant to me—and if I had not dear friends at home I should not look forward so anxiously for intelligence.

I enclose two dried flowers—one a fern. They were plucked for you in Muka nearly two years ago, and I came across them yesterday nicely dried between the leaves of my Malay Dictionary. Let fortune carry them to their intended destination. I was going to send some seeds of two favourite creepers, but they have been mislaid or carried off by the rats. My nosegay fresh every morning, consists of roses, gardenias, Jasmine and these little flowers—one scarlet and the other blue—to give color. I am likewise collecting some plants to be sent next month and some to be brought by myself in October.

19th April, 1863. *Rainbow* just signalled, but before she arrives I must enter on the briefest retrospect—I passed through Council yesterday and order for the circulation of a Copper Currency for Sarawak, which is greatly wanted. The privilege is to be limited to three years so as not to impede hereafter the

establishment of a Sarawak Bank. There will I believe be a profit from this operation, and the coin is to be of the full value of the copper currency of the Straits.

2nd, Some Chinese have reported the discovery of Tin—but this is almost too good to be true. A good vein of coal has been found which Mr Brooke left no particulars of. It will be a great thing if we can get coal for the use of our steamer and the men-of-war—after the Company refuses to work it; a greater benefit if some capitalist would undertake the task. Please tell Mr John Abel Smith this, as he was interested in developments.

3—My Nephew C. Brooke is away on his tour of inspection, but he writes me it will be absolutely necessary to attack the Kayans on the Rejang this season. They were implicated in the murders of Mr Fox and Mr Steel and have ever since kept us in hot water, refusing terms. We are keeping the matter quite quiet here.

4. Mr Gomez¹ stayed with me for some days; he is a valuable missionary of the right stamp. I told him if he wishes I would make him Govt Chaplain at Lundu and so increase his salary, which is kept far below the others, *because* he is a native gentleman with the ideas, tastes, education and habits of an Englishman—what can we hope with such distinctions of cast and colour? The Bishop has accused Mr G with misappropriating the mission money and I believe there is a reference to the society upon the subject. The charge is utterly groundless and absurd, and would you, with my kind regards, ask the Archdeacon to look into it—and see whether a worthy man with a large family could not be remunerated at the same rate as the white clergemen who have served the same time and certainly not more efficiently. I do not like prejudices of color.

5.—I have been at work reforming offices and arranging public works. I have increased some salaries, bestowed rewards, and generally introduced more vigor and spirit in the government. I am not a good hand at details, but I flatter myself I can make men do their work with cheerfulness, whereas before there was a flatness throughout the place. I have been very busy likewise myself, copying my correspondence, chiefly with Mr Brooke—it presents the same features of weakness, impulsiveness and want of good faith as his recent conduct. This is all and now the sooner the letters come the better.

20th. I have now to acknowledge your letter. Mrs Brown's is *ra—ther* a scrimpy note and the Missus's despicable short!

¹ Author of *Seventeen Years Among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo*.

The recognition will give me unfeigned satisfaction and the sooner protection follows the better, but possession would be a serious measure, and I should advise the government to look fairly at the question *after* an officer of their own has resided in Sarawak. The clouds had nearly cleared off before you wrote. It will be as you hope the forerunner of good for Sarawak, and the light vapour which still floats across the landscape will be dispelled by the rising sun of Independence.

So it appears that Mr B asserted "*his rights*" in his letter to Lord Russell—of course as rights independent of me—and Col. Cavanagh mentions the "claims of the Rajah Muda, as a party to the agreement between the Government of Sarawak and the Borneo Company." Politically this is an absurd ground for a claim and in the most limited legal construction it would not establish *a right*. The fact is that long before he became Rajah Muda, Mr Brooke with myself signed a lease—respectively as ruler of the State and "*Heir presumptive*." Now what is the right of an heir presumptive whose appointment was made and rests solely upon the favour of the Ruler? and can the joint signature to a Lease, give a right which the Heirship did not give? I am quite easy upon this point, for Col. C's inference will not hold water.

Again, granting a right to the Heir presumptive upon this, or any other ground, Is such a right beyond the reach of forfeiture, for crimes committed against the State? Clearly not! I made Mr B, I unmade him, and if he behave well may perhaps remake him—and therefore shall not acknowledge any right asserted by Mr Brooke. Submission first—then justice. If then he asserts his rights in England I shall proceed to the forfeiture of all his privileges and expectations, as my heir. As a taste of his position I have declared the forfeiture of his title of Rajah Muda and sent him for three years out of the country. This was done in Council but no record kept and upon the return of my nephew I shall bring it more formally forward. Mr B may give trouble, but he will ruin himself by the attempt. If he appeal to the British government he will incur forfeiture here. If to British Law, he must depend upon it—if he assert his rights, he must make them good—but how? and at what expense?—whilst I have £500 a year to meet legal expenses, which is now allowed to him. Lastly if he appeal to me for justice he shall have it.

22nd April. To return to Sarawak affairs—What I advise is that recognition should be followed by protection, and by the right of possession at pleasure. Thus the country would be

secured for England, and against the evils which want of stability might bring upon it. Then the appointment of an able officer of the British Govt would prepare the way for change—he should be associated with the govt of Sarawak, and practically acquainted with the political and financial state of the country. The title of the Provinces might be amended if necessary, the machinery of government enlarged, and laws made to suit an altered condition. The development of the country would go hand in hand with developed government and thus with mature knowledge of the actual state of things, and the wants and wishes of the people, Sarawak would *grow into a British Colony* without risk of sudden change, and all this might be done in a few years—in three, or ten, as it suited the interests of England.

I have written to Mr J. A. Smith that England should not burden herself with a possession of which she knows little, whether politically or financially, and which they would find difficulty in ruling effectively. English officers know nothing of Sarawak and Sarawak officers know nothing of England—or of the working of the systems respectively. Let them learn—and let them be imbued with the principle of native rights, and how deep the foundation of government is based upon the love of the people. By this gradual immersion of the weaker into the stronger govt (following the law of nature) England would succeed to the prestige of this govt and find her task easy. Sarawak should be the *missing link* between Singapore and Labuan. The Rajahs of Brunai, as I said twenty years ago, should be British servants in disguise—piracy should be trodden out, and a substantial and well defended policy be established by England in the Eastern Archipelago. Such is my idea, somewhat detailed, which please let Mr J. A. Smith know—and when I have caught one bird in the hand, I shall try for the others in the bush. Mr St John is the man for the work named—Mr Low likewise is capable of carrying out the view I take.

23rd. Yesterday Penty caught the prettiest little creature imaginable, to make a specimen for an ornament to Stratton Street. The body of a rat, the head of a shrew, feet of a mole and tail of an elephant!! Mrs B's philosophic subtleties I have no space to contest—Man only knows what he believes he knows—but he is not a clever Beast—Why are you not boiling over about Sir C. Lyall's destruction of religion and morality? I do long to be at home.

Farewell and ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
29th April, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

My thoughts are with you and my hope that I am in your mind to-day, when I complete my sixtieth year. I am well and in good spirits—prosperous in the present, and hopeful for the future. I have overcome difficulties and dangers. I have dear friends and thank God for giving them to me, and though separated from them, I may look forward cheerfully to meeting them again within a few months. I have great reason for gratitude and thankfulness, and what son of Man at sixty years of age, can say more?

30th April, 1863. My natal day passed off quietly, and agreeably. I had a small dinner party and afterwards we sat on the Terrace with the moon and stars shining upon the scene, whilst not a breath crept through the air—Repose, the emblem, I trust, of my coming life!

3rd May. The merry first of flowery May passed over, and three years ago upon that day, I left Hesketh Crescent for Torcross. I have been and still am much involved in business, arranging and correcting every department of government each more neglected than the other, so as before I leave to restore order and introduce a system for carrying on the public service. My task now on hand is to inquire and record the discovery of various minerals and to make it useful in future. You know that by the lease to the Borneo Company, it has the privilege of working each mineral discovered, and failing to work, the government can resume the mineral and let it to others. You must know likewise that according to Counsel's opinion the government has a right to a royalty of £1000 per annum, which I conceded to the Company, by way of encouragement. Mr Brooke was fast drifting into a disagreeable discussion with the Cy upon wrong grounds but I believe I have stopped this mischief and in its place substituted a more rational and prudent proceeding—I suspended the £1000 a year of certain rent, by way of favor, upon the failure of the works at Simungan in 1858; I propose now to give Notice to work or detirmine the Lease, upon each mineral yet discovered, and unworked.

The government will thus resume a considerable area of country yielding minerals and I am in hopes of giving notice of a fresh coal seam just discovered, which ought to be worked successfully, but which, if not attempted, will prove the intention *not* to develop the country. All this is now in train and two

Notices go home by this mail whilst others will regularly follow and thus we may be in a position to offer to others, the coal which the B. Coy L. declines working. This Company has not behaved well towards us, and strictly pursued its own interests political as well as commercial, but we should not complain of this, or quarrel with them for doing or not doing, what they have a right to do, or let alone. Let them do then what is best for themselves, and let us use them for our legitimate purposes. I wish them to work, and not to abandon their undertaking, and for this end will give them every proper encouragement. They are well established—their sago, and other works, are on a considerable scale, and they have a staff, able to direct and accomplish a new undertaking, better than another party fresh to the country. Thus my plan is laid down and has only to be steadily carried out—but putting all this in train has been no small trouble. I hope this long detail will not bore you—To proceed—I waited till my nephew's return on the 23 ult, to summon a Council for the 25th. It was a painful and trying occasion but I opened the proceedings by stating that if a member of the government, in the position of the Rajah Muda, could appeal to a foreign govt against the acts of his Rajah, and take upon himself to defy the constituted authority of the Rajah in Council, the independence of the govt was sacrificed, and in conducting the affairs of the State we must bow to a like appeal made to England, to France, or any other country, by the subjects of Sarawak. I recapitulated the crimes committed by Mr Brooke against me—and against the Council—and I insisted that as he had appealed to a foreign government we must maintain the independence of Sarawak, and strongly marking our sense of his guilt, by his condemnation. One by one declared Mr B guilty of the crimes charged, but his brother C. B. forcibly urged that though the Council unanimously condemned they should not pronounce sentence. "It was not, he said, their proper function, and though he condemned his brother's acts, *now*, as at first, as strongly as any one, he could not be a party to passing sentence upon him." I concurred in this reasoning of separating the deliberative from the executive, and was most anxious to spare him any unnecessary pain, therefore the Order in Council was passed as I send it and I incline to the opinion that it was the best form, as leaving the future open to measures of clemency or stringency, as may be needed—Here I may rest till some act from the other side calls for notice.

It is a subject I dismiss with pleasure.

6th May. *Rainbow* came two days ago and I got your two

letters of advice, warning and encouragement, which were very pleasing to me. I do however insist *strenuously* that I rely upon my true friends and upon none else. Charles Brooke goes with me in this matter, heart and hand. He now allows that he looks upon the breach between his brother and himself as final—and he is convinced his brother will never forgive him, for refusing to support his claims. It has been a trying position, but no man could have behaved with more quiet resolution to do his duty to me, and to Sarawak. His conduct will I hope retrieve his brother's guilt and folly, and prove a comfort and security to the people. His character even from childhood has been very different from his brother's. Reserved to a fault, as you know, but open and cheerful with those he knows—and not suspicious, but generous and trustful.

Of Mr Brooke's performances I have written elsewhere, but his title of Raja Muda is never heard and he is nearly forgotten, and rarely spoken of—certainly not with praise. His cousin Arthur Crookshank was only now saying to me, "How could he have persuaded himself, that any single man in Sarawak would lift a hand, or fail to acknowledge your authority." All the Europeans say he behaved very unfairly, concealing what he was doing from every one connected with government. Lets get rid of him.

The finale of all my wide plans of dealing with the B. C. L. ended in an unexpected manner—Mr Brooke had peremptorily demanded that the lease, as regards coal, should be given up—and Lo! the Directors have yielded and given it up—My solicitor will bind them at once and then we will make our fortune with coal—like Lady Londonderry. I shall work myself and become a Great Collier! and you will work in white muslin, pink ribbons and diamonds.

5 P.M. Upon Monday I start up the country to Balidah and Paningau, my cottage upon the Hill, where I shall pass a week and then down again ready for the mail, as, by my computation, I shall then hear of the receipt of the Telegram—I shall be very glad to know your minds are relieved. How bad has been my nephew's conduct! I disapprove even of his submission, though it was my gain, for had he been honestly convinced that he possessed the rights he asserted with such a flourish of trumpets, he should have firmly held his ground, and appealed to the people and to that sense of justice, which belongs to us all.

8th May. Your tender-flowers I recognized after their long voyage—the hot house Azalea and the hedge row primrose—

alike dear fingers of Spring in different ranks of life. Fancy takes me to the breezy hill side, gemmed with its flowers, and I hear the full tide of song from a thousand birds. I do *long* to be home—I count the days, weeks and months, till next October. Pleasant as everything is here, I feel the time past when I can actively take my share in the task. I love repose and I feel there is no society I prize and a sympathy different from what I need. Four months and a half will find me ready to start—and you can scarcely understand my childish eagerness.

In June I go to Singapore to meet Captain Sherard Osbern, and he will probably bring me back. I have some details of the Chinese Immigration scheme—Our funds are not large enough to enter into it upon a large scale and common prudence dictates that we should not throw a mass of Chinese, whose antecedents are far from inspiring confidence, into a peaceful country. I propose therefore making a trial by locating from 500 to 2000 and allowing the plan to grow gradually to its full proportions. But this prudence may not suit where a mass of rebels has to be got rid of. The star of Sarawak is rising—We have quite a little stream of visitors.

Your's very sincerely ever,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosures.

Proceedings of the Supreme Council.

April 21st, 1863.

The Council was assembled by command of the Rajah.

Present:

The Rajah
Mr Crookshank
The Datu Bander
Tuan Imaun
Tuan Katib

and the following business transacted.

Order in Council

The Rajah in Council has heard the communication made by authority of Lord Russell with great satisfaction, and after mature deliberation is convinced that the security, and interests of Sarawak, will be advanced by the Country being placed under the protection of England.

The Rajah in Council records the unswerving loyalty of the people towards their Rajah, and the constitution of Sarawak, as established.

Read and passed in Council,
April 25th, 1863.

W. H. RODWAY,
Clerk to Council.

Proceedings of the Supreme Council
April 25th, 1863.

The Council was assembled by command of the Rajah.

Present:

The Rajah
Tuan Muda (i.e. Mr C. Brooke)
Mr Crookshank
Datu Bander
Tuan Imaun
Tuan Katib

and the following business was transacted.

Order in Council.

The Rajah in Council having taken into consideration the recent acts of Mr Brooke, namely his having defied the Rajah's authority, subverted the Constitution, and appealed to a foreign government upon a question solely within the jurisdiction of the State of Sarawak, pronounces a condemnation of these acts, as a violation of the obedience due to the State and to the Rajah's government; and further the Council on behalf of its members, and the people, remits to the authority of the Rajah to give effect to this order, by taking such measures as may be necessary to maintain the independence of the State, and his rights as the Rajah of Sarawak.

In Pursuance of the above Order,

The Rajah, in presence of his Council, decreed that Mr Brooke shall forfeit the rank, title, and priveleges of Rajah Muda; and absent himself from the territory of Sarawak for three years from the date of this decree—and after three years' obedience to this decree, the Rajah has consented to reconsider Mr Brooke's future position with a view to the interests of Sarawak.

The Rajah hereafter, as circumstances may arise, will take

such further measures as may be necessary to attain the object recommended by the Council.

Read and passed before the Council,
April 27th, 1863.

W. H. RODWAY,
Clerk to Council.

Meanwhile Captain Brooke had returned to England and began openly attacking the Rajah. He prepared a printed statement of his claims which the Rajah later described to Miss Burdett Coutts as "a weak and mean production spiced by falsehood, but withal worthless." In his campaign he was supported by some of the directors of the Borneo Company who, according to some of Miss Burdett Coutts's friends, designed to get the country into their own hands. Captain Brooke wrote to Mr A. A. Knox, of the Foreign Office, that a "reconciliation of differences can only be brought about by Miss Coutts," and attempted to see her, suggesting to her solicitors that if he brought an action against his uncle it might be unpleasant to her "as her name would be imbodyed," but she very properly declined to discuss any dispute between him and his uncle. He also did his best to attract the support of public men, including Lord Grey, to whom he addressed the following letter, a copy of which was found among the Baroness's papers, in her hand.

White Lackington,
April 25, 1863.

MY LORD,

I venture to take advantage of the interest which your Lordship has always shewn in the affairs of Sarawak to beg your attention to the extraordinary and painful position in which I find myself placed with regard to my Uncle and that Country. As one of the Committee of the Testimonial presented to Sir James Brooke your Lordship will probably remember that the Fund was raised on the express condition that Sir James resigned the Raj of Sarawak to me. This condition was carried into effect by his formally introducing me to the Working Committee as Rajah of Sarawak and putting me in communication with Lord Palmerston as Ruler of that Country. In 1861 Sir James Brooke returned to Sarawak and there formally and with the connivance and approbation of the Council and Inhabitants, European and Native, invested me with the Rajahship, calling on the people to transfer their allegiance to me and obey me as their Rajah as they had formerly obeyed him.

Since that Ceremony the people of Sarawak generally, the Borneo Company, the Bishop and his Clergy have regarded me

as their Rajah and Ruler of that Country. Shortly after his return to England, however, Sir James Brooke commenced negotiations, acting through friends, with H.M. Ministers and with Belgium, during which he alone was represented as the Rajah of Sarawak and my position entirely ignored. Naturally I opposed this injustice and the consequence is that Sir James Brooke has suddenly returned to Sarawak and seized on the Govt.

To avoid a Collision which would have been dangerous I met Sir James at Singapore and determined, instead of opposing him in Sarawak, to return to England and represent my case to H.M. Govt. I am now engaged in drawing up a full statement of these transactions to be submitted to the friends of Sir James Brooke with the view of inducing them to urge his speedy return to England in order that the difference between us may be referred to Arbitration.

I shall be greatly indebted if your Lordship will use your influence to stay any further negotiations between the friends of Sir James Brooke and H.M. Govt until these unhappy differences are arranged.

I have the honor to be,

Yr Lordship's Humble Servant,

J. BROOKE BROOKE.

Since the Rajah's biographers have (for obvious reason) done little more than allude to this bitter and unhappy dissension between nephew and uncle it will be as well, in fairness to Captain Brooke's memory, to discuss the rights of his position. The matter is of importance, for had Captain Brooke become Rajah of Sarawak the line of succession would have changed, and his descendant, not his brother's, would be ruler of the country to-day.

In the foregoing letter Captain Brooke sets out his claims under two main heads:

1. That in 1860 his uncle had introduced him to the working Committee of the Testimonial as Rajah of Sarawak.

2. That in 1861 his uncle had publicly invested him as Rajah.

Now for the first claim Captain Brooke appears to have had considerable justification. Writing to Miss Burdett Coutts on May 14, 1863, Mr A. A. Knox stated: "It is perfectly true that at the first considerable Testimonial Meeting Sir James did introduce his nephew to the Meeting as Rajah of Sarawak and promised to hand him over the Government."

Even before the time to which Mr Knox refers the Rajah had spoken of abdication. On December 4, 1858, he wrote to Mr Templer: "I have resigned my Raj to my successor."¹

This appears to be definite evidence. On the other hand there is no

¹ Quoted from Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 300.

evidence of formal abdication and in a letter to the Rev. Edmund Evelyn (a copy of which the Rajah sent to Miss Burdett Coutts) dated June 9, 1863, the Rajah states: "I proposed to abdicate in my nephew's favour, and to make him Rajah of Sarawak *upon specified terms*. . . . These terms were not fulfilled in any single particular, and the abdication was not made, because I did not propose, or intend, to become a pensioner upon my neighbour's bounty, or to leave Sarawak to be ruled by him, upon a wrong and degraded policy."

The terms on which the Rajah proposed to abdicate in 1858, provided the Council and the people approved, were that he should receive £10,000 and a yearly payment of £500 during his lifetime. These conditions were not carried out. But the Rajah certainly had entrusted the government of the State to Captain Brooke and it must be remembered that the Rajah's letter was written when he was galled by a sense of his nephew's wrongful acts. Another letter to Miss Burdett Coutts reveals what was probably the true state of affairs: that he, tired and disillusioned as he was, would have been glad to hand over entire control, but that Miss Burdett Coutts kept him to the path of what she believed to be his duty. "I tried," he wrote to her (July 8, 1863), "about May or June, 1860, to release myself and impose the responsibility of Government upon Mr Brooke, but in vain—as the Missus was always opposed to it, and thus saved Sarawak from falling into the hands of a man who has now proved himself to be half rogue, half fool."

Captain Brooke claimed that the Rajah made a second proposal to abdicate in 1859 and that the object of the Testimonial was to raise money to enable him to do so.¹ Mr Thomas Fairbairn, who was the prime mover in getting up the Testimonial, pronounced this claim to be "entirely false and unfounded." The Testimonial, as he said in a letter to Mr John Abel Smith, was "an earnest testimony of friends to a noble character . . . but no stipulation or suggestion of any kind affecting Sir James Brooke's future conduct or perfect freedom of action was ever made."

On the second claim the facts are definitely against Captain Brooke. The best evidence is a passage in a letter written by Spenser St John to the Rajah from Port au Prince, Haiti, August 7, 1863:

"If any body knows the real state of the case, I am that person as I arranged the whole affair. If you remember, when I received notice of my appointment to Haiti, I went to Brunei in the *Charybdis* and returned to Sarawak in the *Rainbow*. Shortly after my arrival, Mr Brooke came to me, and asked me whether I thought you would have any objection to appoint him Rajah Muda before your departure from England. I answered that I knew your sentiments on the subject, and was sure you would instal him with pleasure. He then requested me to speak to you on the subject, which I did; you immediately acquiesced and in a few days after the ceremony came off. I remember your speech to the people, and I can

¹ *Vide* a printed pamphlet containing an article from *The Straits Times* with a reply by Mr Brooke.

distinctly say you never either before, during or after the ceremony said anything which should have induced anyone to suppose you had surrendered your position as Rajah of Sarawak. You appointed Mr Brooke as Rajah Muda or Heir Presumptive of Sarawak, and requested the people to obey him, as they had obeyed you when present. You distinctly told them that you hoped to come out again to rule over them, but that you feared your failing health would render these visits few. Mr Brooke at the time understood it in that sense, as I remember well. Let me add that the very title under which Mr Brooke was installed is a proof of what was meant: had you intended to abdicate you would have installed him as Rajah and not as Rajah Muda."

Miss Burdett Coutts, who considered Captain Brooke's conduct "outrageous, whether considered as from Gentleman to Gentleman, nephew to uncle, or from a subordinate to his superior," summed the matter up very well in a letter to Mr J. Abel Smith (May 3, 1863) when she said:

"1st, Mr B has never governed, or assumed to govern, independent or irrespective of *the Rajah*. His own letters proved this, for he defied his Uncle's authority and expressly stated that he—Mr B—might prove the stronger.

"2nd, he has violated the constitution of Sarawak, for he admits he consulted no one and did not summon the Council—an integral part of the Government; *this*, whatever his relations to his Uncle might have been, was by every least notion treason against the State. It is impossible to assert claims and privileges in the face of these two facts."

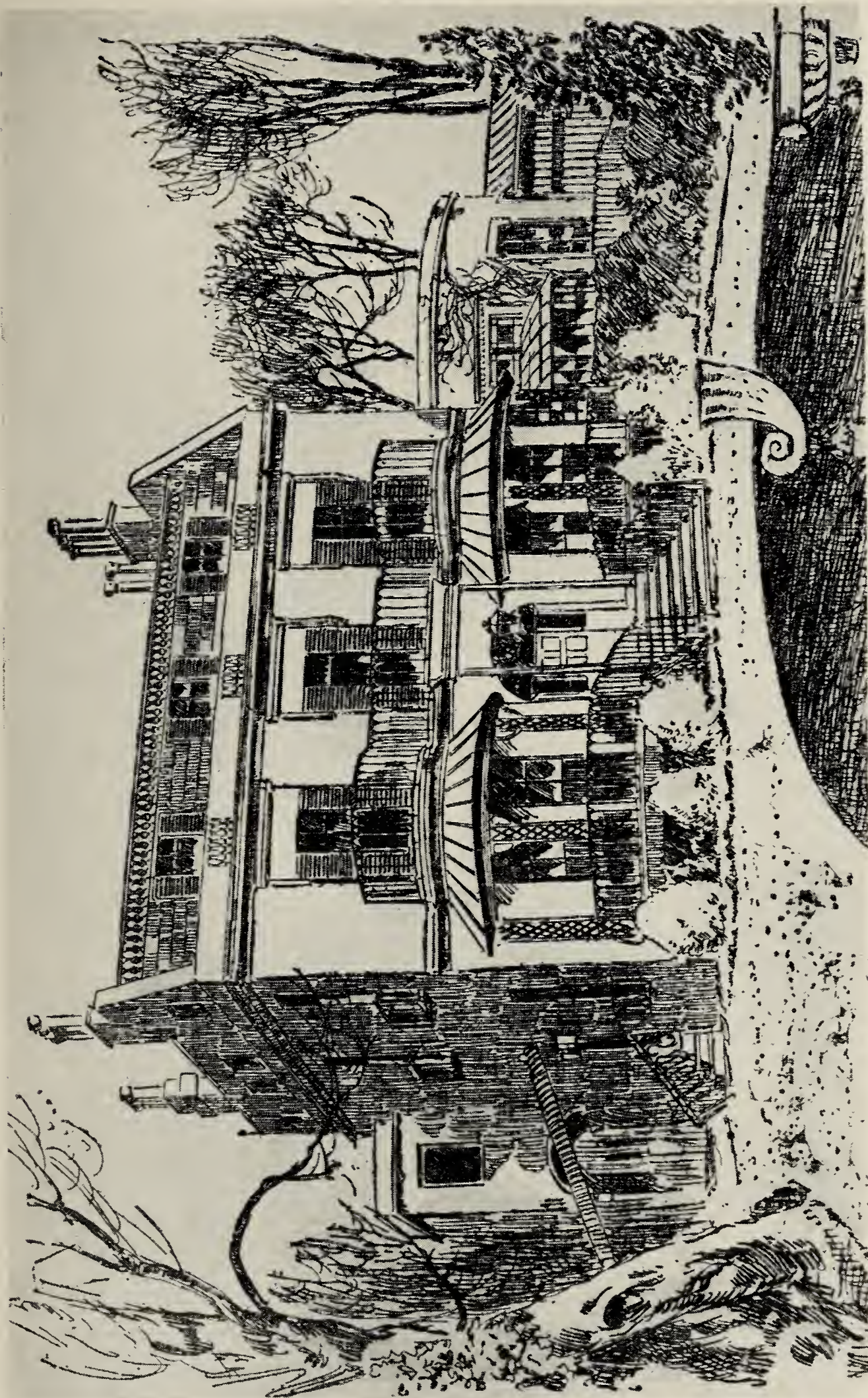
The letters which follow show how feelings became more and more exacerbated, as they do in all family feuds—and this was more than a family feud, since it had political animosity to feed it—and it will be seen that Miss Burdett Coutts would not countenance any idea of the Rajah weakening. Indeed there can be little doubt that, as St John observed, "had mutual friends both in England and Sarawak been more conciliatory, the estrangement between uncle and nephew would never have gone so far as it did."¹

H. Lodge,
May 25, 1863.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

You will be glad to hear that Mrs Brown is better, for my last account of her must have conveyed to your mind, my feelings of anxiety—such being the case, and as she is now fully as well as usual, we came here on the 16th inst, giving up all other plans, and to-day after dinner we proceed into Babylon. We shall be settled there about a month, with occasional visits *here*, on Saturdays and Sundays—and later, we shall reverse the order, and remain settled here with occasional visits to Stratton St. In August we shall probably return to Torquay, as we kept

¹ *Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 357.



From the Potter Collection, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

HOLLY LODGE



on the House for the Summer and Autumn—making expeditions to places about on the Moors and we shall spend the early Winter up to Christmas *here*, at least so we plan.

In regard to your return Home—*all* must depend on your Health and every other risk *must* be run to secure *that first object*—if you can with safety remain either in Sarawak or thereabouts with safety, I am afraid that you should do so for the welfare and honour of your *Raj*—and that by so doing you will best carry out those great and abiding objects for which you have sacrificed so much. Your personal presence and rule gives stability to your Govt., peace to your people and is a standing denial *to all* that is said here—but your Health is paramount; as to worry and anxiety, you would find plenty here until some permanency is given to the present new condition of affairs in Sarawak and a Government established there, *accustomed not* to look to Capt B for guidance. I do not enter upon any discussion of his conduct—you will have received all the details from other sources and of it there can be but *one opinion*.

Capt B first said he would send a statement [to me]—subsequently said he would if I wished. Farrer¹ said I could have no wish to interfere. I am informed his manner was *very strange* and I hold to my opinion that *he drinks*—so alone can I account for his unreasoning violent conduct—probably he may not drink so as to be obsessed, but that he habitually takes enough to act injuriously on a weak head—*that* and the sense of the dignity and importance of the position which he had achieved through you, with a *Heart not in its right place*, has quite apparently turned his Head.

I am truly anxious and firmly resolved to fulfil, if need be, (which I pray may never happen) all you said to the Bander in Council. Do not be afraid of clashing with any steps taken here. Whether as regards B.C.L. or aught else you must do as seems best to you there, only beware how *you trust* any one connected in any way with Capt B. You will find reason for this urgent entreaty in the Letters you will receive.

The money Instalment² gave unbounded satisfaction at 59 Strand—such is a striking improvement in one financial arrangement over the late manner of acting with respect to debts and engagements. These are two points to which I would draw your attention—1st, should you make all debts contracted by you,

¹ Her solicitor.

² An instalment of £400 in repayment of the loan, which Capt Brooke had omitted to pay.

whether in my name or the Farrers' legal¹—that is, acknowledged by your Council and recorded. 2nd, Mr J. A. S. and Mr Knox are both attacked with the charge that they induced Mr C. J. Brooke to oppose his Brother—should you not in fairness to them obtain from him some statement that, previous to their seeing him, he had written out to Capt B and that the Interview was not so much to influence *him* as that *they* should understand the exact position of Capt B and Mr C. J. B. towards each other and towards yourself? It will please them and though I must now say I do not so much care for Mr K, I think you owe a great deal to Mr J. A. S. who is *now involved* in your affairs (through Capt B's misconduct) in a manner he could never have contemplated, nor I, when I asked him, and every protection should be given from attack and insult—and *in all* you now do you *must remember* and act accordingly for us all.

Perhaps, *as both* sides have rather been dissatisfied—*Your friends* that you have not at once acted more decisively against Capt B, his friends that you have acted so decisively—you may conclude you did on the whole what was best—but *now* I think you must not countenance him, and at least before you have it will be a consideration whether you must not make his conduct known to the people generally and shall you continue that allowance? When withdrawn should it not be done in Council?

May God bless and guide you now and ever.

Always truly yrs,
A. G. B. COUTTS.

It is inevitable in every family feud that members of the family should take sides. Naturally enough Mrs Johnson sided with her son Brooke and wrote acrimonious letters to the Rajah. "My poor sister is like a Royal Tigress defending her cub," he told the Ladies, "and a bad vicious cub it is, though she cannot see how it scratches and bites." But he succeeded in repressing his irritation and wrote her a conciliatory reply, sending a copy to Miss Burdett Coutts.

¹ To this the Rajah replied: "an acknowledgment by the Council would make the debt a State debt and the property State property, whereas *now* this property to cover my personal security, belongs to me. Supposing the government to be dishonest, it would be difficult to recover from the State, whereas this property, being legally hypothecated to you, by me, it would be seizable in a British settlement, as belonging to me, and the two steamers (the principal items) must be backwards and forwards to this place. I will therefore leave the plan undisturbed and the other can subsequently be adopted, if you prefer it."

Sarawak,
8th June, 1863.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

Your letter gave me pain, but a mild answer turneth away wrath and I love you too well not to make every allowance for your feelings. I cannot guess what I could have said, to rouse your feelings in my letter of the 2nd March. It announced your son's return home and the settlement upon easy terms of a most dangerous dispute. I do not understand therefore this apparent change in his arrangement, or what there was in my announcement of it, to wound you or as you write "nearly to kill you."

Your son stood and *now stands forth*, as my public Accuser! I defend my honor against his aspersions, and my rightful authority against his pretensions. Nobody questioned "his rights" as my successor—I gave him no cause for suspicion—no excuse for his conduct. He offers no justification for it beyond having seen a letter which displeased him. I know no more of that letter, than you did—but it has led to this cruel family division with its consequence for which Mr Brooke alone is responsible. He was the Aggressor and I would to God he had spared his parents and his uncle.

I do not know if he intends to obey, as he promised. I can only advise he should do so—I have tried to deal leniently and tenderly, and not to mix up any passion with my judgment.

I cannot even from my affection for you, do less than my duty, and it is clearly before me, as the sun at noonday.

I love you, dearest Sister, but I can only act as conscience dictates. Farewell. Whether we meet again, or part, shall be as you will, but ever I shall be,

Your affectionate brother,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
12th June, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have to thank you for your welcome letter of 24 April, although conveying the painful intelligence of dear Mrs Brown's illness—The lines so feebly traced on the envelope, showed too plainly how weak she was, and I can only join in her hope, and your's, that she would soon be better. I feel amid my other cares, how much more important to my happiness, is the health

and welfare of yourselves, whom I lean upon as my only friends, and in whose society I have only hope of peace and quiet in this world.

Now a word of self—I am better than I have been, but I feel the effect of climate and have positively resolved to leave Singapore for home by the first mail in October unless an urgent necessity call for my longer stay. My life is valuable to Sarawak and I will not risk it lightly, by taxing my strength. I look forward to my return as a boy does for his holidays and I hope before I leave that Sarawak will stand in a position of recognized Independence or safe Dependency.

I think I may alter your first impressions of my proceedings in Singapore, upon a review of them. The vital object was to avert a local disturbance, and we cannot overrate the importance of this point. The concessions I made to gain it will not appear great, if you reflect upon the consequences which might have arisen from an opposite course. To get Mr Brooke out of the way quietly, without a struggle, was *everything* and made me master of the position without injury to Sarawak. I knew the man, the value of his submission and tears, the vacillation of his character, and his suspicious temper; and I knew that to moot any minor point at issue, would have roused him to resistance and temporary fury. His submission—i.e. his better feeling—only lasted long enough to carry him away. We won, as it was, without anything to spare, and although we should have won at all events, it would have been only after much mischief to the peace of society and the confidence of Trade. To get him away was the great end, and in this I succeeded.

To effect this what did it cost? 1st, A promise to reconsider the case after three years! Had Mr Brooke submitted truthfully to the tribunal of Sarawak, the question would have been finally settled, and the *merits* of the case, and *his deserts* would have kept for future disposal. On the other hand had Mr Brooke, from intention or weakness, failed in submission afterwards, my object in the meanwhile would have been quietly gained. Either way the advantage would have been with me. The allowance of £500 a year granted on the faith of his submission pending “good behaviour” could scarcely be misunderstood, and was not a heavy sum to pay for the settlement of so dangerous a question, and again should he break his word it will instantly be withdrawn, after my object has been gained. Mr Brooke’s title of Raja Muda had not been forfeited when I was in Singapore, and I thought it better to forfeit in Council than by my arbitrary decree.

There was no haste, but on the contrary I was procrastinating, and gaining strength so long as he was submitting and losing. I might have got into a dispute, upon his using a title, but I could not prevent his doing it, and after all the title had not been formally forfeited. To abide your time is wise and my plan, had he submitted, was to forfeit his title in Council first.

Then by an Order in Council to require the retraction of his letter to the British government, and demand a renunciation of his pretensions. At each step his struggles would have become weaker; and resistance more difficult. Time was every thing to make me master of the position and I won it; whereas by your plan I should have drawn on the struggle at once, with the evils which must have attended it. Time was victory and by my plan of Delay, Delay, step by step, he was to have yielded, till he could be shelved as a pensioner—or he could have fought his battle only after he had lost his position—and even now how great the difference of the struggle beginning upon a broken faith and evaporating in pamphlets. I think, then, that leniency and generosity will tell in my favor when he breaks his promise, as I hear he is about to do—and observe, though he signs himself Raja Muda, or my *presumptive successor*, he calls me *Raja*—a far greater admission in my favor. Perhaps you attached more importance than it deserved to the designation, not knowing the meaning of Raja Muda to be presumptive Successor? Presumptive Heirs have no right in that character.

Mr Knox tells me I may expect from Mr B all that a madman can do. His whistle will cost him £500 per an. I expected no better from the first, and am neither surprized nor deceived—I shall now fight the battle upon my best ground, and you may be sure I have seen the position and the duty clearly; as well as the impossibility of avoiding the contest. I have not trusted Mr Brooke a whit more than he has trusted me but I have removed the fight to England, and *there* he has a fair field and no favor. I could not pledge myself to a course before I saw my way clearly before me, but I say *now*, as I think I have said before, Mr Brooke is a *Traitor* and so to be treated, and whether three years or thirty years elapse, his guilt will remain and he can never be permitted to put his foot in Sarawak. *Now* leniency to the guilty would be punishment of the faithful. Step by step I draw English and native chiefs into the vortex of the storm—so that their position will depend upon keeping Mr B out of the country. I have strong family affections, but weak when pitted against a sense of duty—or what is due to Sarawak and myself.

I had a very angry letter from my sister—my reply I enclose. I may add in reference to this subject that the officiating Clergeman has furnished me the form of prayers used in the Church—At Morning and Evening Service it ran:—

“The Raja of this country, the Raja Muda, and his family etc.”

In the Prayer for the Church Militant thus:—

“and especially thy servant Victoria our Queen, and *James*, the Raja of this country etc” (without mention of the Raja Muda). This will convince all reasonable persons.

I wanted you to help the government to build a steam Gun boat for reasons very different to those you give for demurring.¹ But *your motives* will never be misunderstood by me, and your decision shall be cheerfully received. The Raja says that he and his people owe you a debt of gratitude, which money can never repay, and which is increased with the increased security and prosperity of the country. My private feeling and friendship you will not misunderstand, and how could we misconstrue your wishes, or decision. So far is plain. But my reasons for wanting aid for a gunboat were that Mr Brooke's future, being quite decided, in my own mind, I knew no more effective means of frustrating any attempt to disturb Sarawak by a sudden appearance there. The vessel, in other respects, would be of the highest service in sustaining and increasing the power and means of government—£3,000 to 3,500 would complete her and I considered that as you would, in case of my death, inherit Sarawak itself, including the two steamers, and all the disposable property, that it would give you a greater hold upon the country, and at the worst that you would be secured against loss.

This was my view, and whether you will assist, rests with you; and you know how cheerfully your fiat would be accepted, whether Aye or Nay. I am inclined—so great is the importance I attach to the vessel—to build her at all events, but it would straighten the means of government to pay for her and we might fail to do so—and be obliged to sell her again. Will you please think of this, and you may be quite certain Mr Brooke will not return to Sarawak, *if I can prevent it*, for I am convinced that great as is the disgrace and embarrassment and as was the danger arising from his acts, yet that it is a blessing to the country, he has so far exhibited his total wants of principle and capacity, as to preclude his ever becoming the Raja. Matters going well, I shall just receive an answer to this letter in Singapore in September.

¹ Miss Burdett Coutts's reason for “demurring” was undoubtedly her fear that the Rajah would eventually allow Captain Brooke to return to Sarawak.

I could give you a long account of the Mission affairs were it worth while—My Lord Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak returned from the Straits full of grievances and angry threats. He did not pay the usual respect of calling, whereupon I gently intimated that the failure of the customary etiquette towards the Rajah, on the part of a functionary of the State, could not pass without a marked token of displeasure. *He called* and so peace was maintained. His grievances are (so I understood) that I did not support him against St John and that I noticed what he said about the Dayaks being “called out to take Heads.” Further, that I had set the Bishop of Durham upon him—but that the B of D—had got a “rap over the knuckles” from the A[rch] B[ishop] of C[anterbury]—and that I am intriguing to introduce another Mission into the Country. What say the Ladies? Guilty or not Guilty?

I am going to Singapore in *Rainbow* for change and I hope for profitable business, as there are bodies of Chinese Cultivators of Gambier and Pepper wishing to come to Sarawak from Johore where they are oppressed by the native government. Good Luck be with us, for a few thousands would alter our financial condition—of which however I do not complain, the improvement having been great since I settled affairs in Muka and Brunai. I may mention that the Captain ran the *Rainbow* ashore from sheer foolhardiness of over confidence—it has done her some damage but nothing that cannot be made good as though nothing had happened—It will be an excellent lesson. The new Steamer I propose calling Heartsease—I remember you wore one in your hair at a large dinner party. Good Bye, dear Mrs Brown—Good Bye, dear Lady, and Believe me,

Your's ever,
J. BROOKE.

Singapore,
20th June, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I rejoiced to see Mrs Brown's handwriting and to learn that she was herself again. The rest we may take calmly and really in my view the outer-circle is of small moment, so long as the inner holy of holies, our real friends, be preserved to us.

Hands and feet go bare, go bare

Hands and feet go bare!

So that friends have good fare, good fare,

So that friends have good fare!

It does not much signify who sees Mr Brooke or who does not, so that the Missus keeps clear of the annoyance and the *snare* they have laid for her.

If I get hold of this precious statement I will cut Mr B into small pieces.

I enclose the translation of a letter sent by this mail to Mr Brooke from the three principal Chiefs in Sarawak, who in their own names and the name of the people give him good advice. It is certain he will not take it, and they will resent his disobedience to the Council the more for that. I think it will please you, for it is bold and characteristic, and whilst it proves who is the real Raja, will dispose of much of Mr Brooke's rhodomantade about the people—their allegiance to him and such nonsense.

He (Mr B) has honoured me with a letter—a despicable letter—a copy of which I send as it threatens you as well as me. The foolish creature thinks that upon usurping my authority, I was not to release my self from the personal responsibility for public debts and that he was to enjoy the fruits of the Missus's generosity and my credit and support. Could human stupidity exceed this? Observe, too, his "reciprocity" in the lease and seeking arbitration he declares quoting my words, that "The time for discussion is past." I say Amen, for I will have no discussion or arbitration. I shall take no notice of this letter and upon its receipt immediately withdrew the £500 a year granted upon the faith of his submission.

When I get to Sarawak I shall convene the Council and introduce an Order to forfeit all Mr B's rights and privileges in Sarawak, and to banish him formally and publicly. I shall then assemble the people, and appeal to them, at the same that I explain his conduct, and denounce Mr Brooke as a Traitor! With further disobedience an Order in Council shall declare him an outlaw and a public enemy, and the confiscation of his private property might follow, as an extreme measure—But piano, piano,—we must gradually rise from the gentle to the inexorable.

By the Bye, I forgot to tell you a dutiful and pleasant trait in my nephew's character—He told a gentleman here before he left that "if he stayed he could kill the Raja in two months." Dutiful, certainly!

Ever and ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

Enclosure No. 1

Translation of a Malayan letter from the Chiefs of Sarawak to Mr Brooke.

This sincere and friendly letter, written with many compliments and respectful reverence, and with due consideration, from the Datu Bandar and Tuan Imaum and Tuan Katib, members of the Council residing in Sarawak, may the Lord of the Universe cause to reach to Mr Brooke, who at this time is resident in England. Further we wish to make known to you, Sir, that the acts of Mr Brooke have been explained in the Council, and that the Raja in Council has condemned the Tuan upon account of those acts. And further we, the Datus, and the Tuan Hajis, and the Abang Abang (sons of ministers) in their own name, and in the name of the people of Sarawak, desire, if possible, to advise Mr Brooke upon no account to resist our Raja, and upon no account to do otherwise than obey the commands of the Raja in Council of Sarawak, for we all of us should be greatly grieved if any other thought entered the mind of the Raja's son; and we thus advise in order that Mr Brooke may know that there is one Raja, one Council, one Government, and one heart, in the country of Sarawak, and that the people of Sarawak obey no one else but the Raja, who has so long ruled over them; and further that for life or for death, the whole country will hold by no other rule, excepting the Raja in Council, and if it be possible, we beg Mr Brooke to accept this advice from his Father the Raja in Council, because Mr Brooke well knows that according to Malayan customs, the son who resists his father is Accursed! With many compliments.

Signed DATU BANDAR.
 TUAN IMAUM.
 TUAN KATIB.

Enclosure No 2

17 King Street,
 St James,
 May 8th, 1863.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

I have drawn up a statement of my case.

My position, my claims, and my Rights founded on your own written and solemn pledges—this statement will be placed in

Miss Coutts' hands with a request that she will use her influence to bring about an arbitration of the Question between us.

If this is declined I shall publicly assert my Rights and my reciprocity as the co-Lessor of the Minerals leased to the Borneo Company will be enforced in the Courts of Westminster. You will know, as well as I do, how terrible a disgrace this will be. I urgently desire a peaceful termination to this unhappy difference, by arbitration, not only for your sake, but for the sake of the friends who have armed you with the powers which you are using so fatally to yourself and Sarawak.

It has taken long years of injustice and latterly of insult to bring matters between us to this pass. But you must now forgive me for, in my turn, saying

“The time for discussion is past.”

Yours truly,
J. BROOKE BROOKE.

A true copy of original paper.

W. H. READ,
Justice of the Peace.

Singapore, 19 June, 1863.

Singapore,
25th June, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have quite determined upon the Gun Boat “Hearts Ease” and was much pleased by your kind acquiescence in my wish.¹ She will be ordered in a few days and will be of incalculable advantage and effectually guard us from any attempt upon Mr B's part to return suddenly to Sarawak. It shall be arranged exactly as you wish and I propose now to hypothecate to you the steamer *Rainbow* and the military stores etc., etc.,—in payment of the debt due to you by the State. It is a power to wield (as Mr B feels) for good or evil, but no honest man, or honest government, would evade the payment of debts. When “Heartsease” is finished she shall be placed in your power till paid for. I told you in my last she would not exceed £3500 and I will watch the exchange and when it is low, draw for the £3000 for which I have credit from Coutts's. I shall deposit the Original title deeds of Sarawak with the Oriental Bank here and in case

¹ The *Heartsease* was built in Singapore, and on July 20 the Rajah drove the first nail into her keel. “She will indeed ease my heart,” he wrote on that day.

of my death they will be forwarded to Coutts's addressed to you. I shall bring them home with me.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Shortly after this the Rajah received news of the success of the Tuan Muda's expedition against the Kayans, a powerful and warlike tribe in the far interior who for years had been raiding the Dayaks on the lower reaches of the Rejang. They were in the habit of either burying their prisoners alive or cutting the throats of their captives after putting out their eyes, and their depredations were yearly growing more bold, for they had never been attacked by a force more powerful than themselves. The Tuan Muda raised the Dayak levies and led the expedition in person—he gives a graphic account of his experience in *Ten Years in Sarawak*—and the result was achieved with little bloodshed, leaving Sarawak without internal strife for the first time in her history.

Sarawak,
7 July,¹ 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

A pleasant passage brought me across, and to begin from the beginning, I will tell you briefly what has occurred. The Tuan Muda advanced with a force of about 15,000 men, up the Rejang, overcoming great difficulties, and carrying all before him, till the enemy cried 'Hold, enough.' Two out of the three murderers of Mr Fox and Mr Steel were executed—the third fled, and at next full moon the Kayans are to come down to our Fort at Kanowit to give in their submission, and re-establish peace. So I hope will end our warlike expeditions for many a year. The last was the most distant, and the most serious ever undertaken—and my nephew deserves the highest praise for his conduct of it.

I wrote you before of my uncertainty, as to what effect the remonstrances of his relations, and their appeals to his filial affection, might have upon the mind of Charles Brooke. I am now happy to say, he is resolutely bent upon performing his duty to me, and to Sarawak. He has never wavered for an instant, and his relations made the mistake of suspecting, and reproaching him. His brother wrote in a high and mighty style, and *offered* to make him *Raja Muda*. Injustice roused his spirit, he reproached his brother with his crimes, declared his pretensions to be false, and refused to have anything whatever to do with him. He declared I was the Raja of Sarawak, and that, as my representative, he would perform his duty unflinchingly. To his parents

¹ From the context it is clear that this is a *lapsus calami* for August.

he wrote that he had not deserved their suspicions, that he acted upon his sense of right and duty, that his brother's conduct was unjustifiable, his pretensions without foundation, or how otherwise could it be that he (Charley) had never heard of his being Raja?—that he (Brooke) was trying to mislead everybody, and was the sole author of all the misery, strife, and family disunion, and further that his brother knew that he could never gain Sarawak where everybody, English, Malay, and Dayak was against him; and that his only object must be to injure Sarawak without advantage to himself. That Mr B knew too that he must kill the Raja before he could usurp the Raj, and it was a worthy act for a nephew to contemplate or to perform!!

Charley put all these letters into my hands, and we entered most unreservedly upon the whole matter, past and future. Nothing could be more satisfactory or conclusive of his views, feelings, and intentions, and to wind up, he has declared all future communication upon the subject to be incompatible with his duties as my representative. I am *quite satisfied*, and my nephew has justified my love and confidence, by his cool decision, and unreserved adherence.

I can thus form a government beyond Mr B's, or his partisans', power to touch. My nephew as my representative; English, Malays, and Dayaks true, the public officers of government pledged to maintain my rightful authority and every precaution taken to prevent communication or sudden return,—and I think I may come home without bringing anxiety as my companion. Home, therefore, I shall come by the first mail in October, for I do think it necessary to keeping my health, not to run it to the dregs; I am pretty well just now, but there are symptoms which give timely warning that I should not build upon its continuance, and my hope of future usefulness will consist in avoiding any prostration of strength, whether from illness or climate. Coming home, I shall be ready to come out again, after the renovation of a few months. I shall not wait for the advent of the Consul, who might be months or even years before he made his appearance. I am too well acquainted with the rate of proceeding, to regulate my movements by an English government office.

My nephew will be able to do all that is needful to aid the Consul, shew him every kindness, and to acquaint him with the views and wishes of the Government. If competent, we shall give him a Seat in Council, so as to enable him to inform his own Government of the workings of the system here. But this is for future consideration, and the tendency of the British Government.

This would be a mode of merging the weaker into the stronger state.

After my return, I convened a meeting of the Council, and again condemned Mr Brooke, and again the members called upon the Raja to punish his crimes. The Raja therefore decreed that Mr Brooke should forfeit *all rights whatsoever* and be banished the territory of Sarawak as a punishment for the crimes he had committed against the State. This makes him an outlaw and its legal effect (at any rate here) you will appreciate. So far I went swimmingly, but when I proposed assembling the people, and promulgating publicly Mr Brooke's crimes, and their punishment, I found a strong opposition from all my colleagues. I urged the advantages of publicity, and candor in the part of the government—that knowing the truth the people would be less likely to be disturbed, than if reports were allowed to creep abroad, and above all that Mr Brooke having incurred forfeiture, and banishment, the people should hear it so declared. To this was answered by one or another, but chiefly by the Datu Bander, that the people here, who would hear what had really passed, would be but a very small portion of the people generally, and that of the lower orders, as the Abang Abang, and real representatives of the people, were mostly absent. That the principle of publicity was right generally but that too much importance should not be given to Mr Brooke's offence, and punishment, which was already known to every one, and considered an accomplished fact. That the respectable inhabitants had heard and discussed it with the Datu, that we might all speak of it without reserve and that I might call the Abang Abang etc, here and elsewhere and acquaint them with the facts.

They did not object to the publicity, but to the formality of the announcement, which could not fail to create an impression that the government regarded the matter in a serious light, and thence would arise alarm as to the future proceedings of Mr Brooke and his means of disturbing the public peace. The ignorance of the people would lead to exaggeration, and they would attach more importance to Mr B's offence than it deserved, merely because the government treated it seriously. It really was *not* an important, though very painful question, and it was now passed. It would be accepted, and known as an accomplished fact—not a man in the country sympathized with Mr Brooke, or would support him, and it would be better for the Raja therefore, not to give the matter an undue importance by its formal promulgation—but as the question had been dealt with in Council

to leave it to die out without a chance of disturbing the public mind.

I was not convinced, but yielded, as I was bound to do, without pushing the question to a vote—nor do I wish against the opinions of the Council, to insist upon the formal publicity—though I will take good care to make it public, all the same.

The order in Council passed, I wrote the enclosed to my nephew. I had before written to Mr Hay to know whether he could serve the government faithfully and be prepared to act against Mr Brooke should a necessity for doing so arise. He answered that he had served my government with truth and fidelity and in like manner had served under Mr Brooke when I had delegated my power to him, but that it would be contrary to the duty he owed Mr B to serve against him. I wrote this morning to say he had better depart. I have a good feeling towards this gentleman, but of course he could not remain in the service. We are very short handed and if you know or hear of any two or three gentlemen from 22 to 28 years of age—moderately well educated—refined and gentle, I should be very glad to have them. At first their salary would be quite small, they being useless—but when competent to discharge the duties they would get £300 a year or about that.

Home—Home—Home—On Sunday next (9th) I go to Sakarran but shall be back for the mail—I write under pressure.

Ever and ever thine,

J. BROOKE.

Enclosed with this letter was a copy, in the Rajah's hand, of his last communication to Captain Brooke: certainly the tersest letter he ever wrote.

S[arawak],

6th Aug^t, 1863.

MY NEPHEW,

I disinherit you for the crimes you have committed against the State and against myself—

Your uncle,

J. BROOKE.

S - 5th August 1863 -

My nephew

I disinherit
you for the crimes
you have committed
against the State
and against my
self -

Your uncle

J Brooke

J Brooke Esq

Sakarran,

[*Sarawak*]

14th August, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

Upon Sunday the 10th inst, I embarked aboard the gunboat *Venus*, and dropped down the river. The next morning we were coasting along, Santobong towering astern, the wide entrance of Sadong under our lee, with its mountains of Sabangan, and ahead the mountain of Lessong, and the high island of Tarisan, which marks the entrance of the Batang Lupar. At sunset we entered the river, some three or four miles broad at its mouth, and by 11 P.M. anchored off the Fort and village of Linga, situated at the junction of that river with the Batang Lupar. Two years ago, this was a considerable town, the insecure times having driven the population to collect for safety, and defence around the Fort. Restored confidence has again dispersed them, and left it the village it was, when built by me about the year 1852. This little Fort was assigned for the refuge of the Bishop of Labuan and his party during the Chinese disturbances of 1857, and though no Palace of ease or comfort, and meriting the name given to it of "a frying pan of a fort," yet it was a place of safety, and so to be valued during that trying period.

From the Linga "Frying pan," I went to Banting, to see the Chambers's. Their house stands in a thick grove of trees, upon a steep hill, over the Dayak village, and the tiny Church, with its painted glass window, is about five hundred yards from it. Altogether, I was pleased with my hosts—the kind reception they gave me—with the Dayaks, Christian and Heathen—and with all I saw and observed. But I think the teaching too narrow, and the ceremonial of belief too prominent; for so soon as these Dayaks come into contact with other Christians, the religion they are taught will receive a check, and what effect will it have, when they find out that the uprisings and the down-sittings, the bendings and the genuflections, are not of the importance they attach to them? That Christians generally care not to practise them, and hold of no account what they have received with reverence?

For my part, I am afraid of Christian converts speaking to me upon the subject of religion, for if I speak what I esteem truth I should unteach much they have been taught, as vital to salvation; and, if I prevaricate or evade, I should be dishonest to them, and

to myself. Bishop Colenso teaches truly upon *this point*: Men should say boldly what conscience dictates and trust to discussion to establish truth. However, I was pleased, and convinced that Chambers has made an impression upon this tribe (the Ballaus), which will lead them to Christianity, and an advanced civilization. But they won't be Angels, shut up in a Borneo bandbox, but faulty, erring, sinful, wicked Protestant Christians, like their fellows in England, and elsewhere—and they will be much more useful, manly, muscular subjects and citizens, in consequence. I hate Monsters of perfection!

Sakarran, 15th.

Seven hours pull in fast boats, and a strong tide, brought us to this flourishing town and neat fort. It is situated at the junction of the Batang Lupar and Sakarran rivers, both which contain a Dayak population, named after the locality. This was once the very focus of piracy, and is now the most thriving and well regulated town in our territory, thanks to the rule of my dear Nephew Charles Brooke. I was very pleased to see him amongst his own people. Order and kindness prevail, and it is evident he is regarded and looked up to by the inhabitants, Malay and Dayaks, as a ruler should be. There is a *sentiment* pervades the Government, and a personal attachment towards himself, which is beyond praise, and which gives an absolute reliance on his capacity to govern. Towards myself he is gentle and affectionate, and an impassable gulph now yawns between him and his brother, so that, positively and negatively, I feel an entire confidence in his love, his firmness, and his judgment. This is a great comfort to me, both in the present and future, as in case of my death, he will do his duty, and attend to my bequest for the disposal of the country.

The situation of this town is low, and it is frequently flooded during the rainy season, so it has been resolved to remove it bodily to a higher and better position called Si Mangang, about seven miles down the river. I have only to add that flowers are in abundance here—jasmine in showers, and roses and gardenias almost as plentiful. Here too I met my favourite old cat, which ten years ago I reared as a kitten, and which after escaping the danger and terror of the conflagration of my house,¹ I consigned to the care of my nephew, upon my return home in 1857. Poor Pussy now enjoys a sleek and quiet old age.

¹ In the Chinese Insurrection.

Gunboat Venus. Off Burong island. Tomorrow morning we shall be at Sarawak, after an agreeable excursion, and I have nothing further to relate. I have a few orchids, which I shall bring with me home. One is a beauty, the flowers of which I forward with a slight sketch. Tomorrow I hope to get my letters from you—So ends this journal.

Sarawak,
20th August.

Reached home, yesterday evening—*Rainbow* and letter already here.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
23rd September, 1863.

MY DEAR LADIES,

With the last day comes the last entry of my journal in Sarawak, and nothing could be more satisfactory than the affairs and the feelings of Sarawak upon my departure. I leave behind me as true and as loyal a people, and as firm a government as there has ever been, and it is with a perfect assurance of safety that I quit the country. Did I doubt, I should stay. Upon the 21st, the Officers of Government presented me with an address, and in the evening I gave them a banquet at which more than fifty English sat down to supper. Half a dozen were Men-of-Wars' men, the rest belonging to Sarawak. The Bishop proposed my health, and I responded *with effect*. I may say without vanity that there is a devotion and right feeling to me, and to the government, which cannot be questioned, and that I leave Sarawak under the happiest auspices.

Today I meet the Chiefs and people in Court, and tomorrow morning, the 24th September, I depart in H.M.S. *Rifleman* for Singapore—on the twenty-second anniversary of my rule. Is not this an Omen "to cheer but not inebriate"! I quit Sarawak with perfect confidence, and I believe my presence in England will be of more advantage than my stay here.

What is to be done for the future? What course adopted to place the country in a permanent position? You tell me that *if England fail*, we shall be free, however painful to us all, to act independently of her. This is my feeling and my principle, but

if England fail (and I fear it) what is to be done? I am coming to ask this question, and I am grateful indeed that Sarawak is as true now, as she has ever been, and that I can leave without uneasiness or apprehension. I will revert to this subject, as I perceive it troubles you, and I beg of you to let your minds be at rest upon it. So farewell to you today, and to Sarawak tomorrow.

Singapore, 28th September. Everything went off at parting, as I wished—I bid the people farewell—I glanced at the past—I asked who was their Raja? the Raja of their choice? I bade them disregard the rebellion of Mr Brooke, who had been banished for his crimes, and who could not disturb the peace of the country. I told them I should return in a year or two, or whenever wanted, and so farewell to the people and country. Besides this, I arranged with the Chiefs their measures to send Mr B out of the country, should he by any chance get there—and that, if I thought it advisable, I might challenge him to accompany me to Sarawak to settle the question by an appeal to the people! All this done, I embarked aboard H.M.S. *Rifleman*, and after a rough passage, reached this yesterday.

It is necessary to break off the Rajah's letter at this point in order to make clear the important events which had happened at home. During the Rajah's absence Miss Burdett Coutts and Mr John Abel Smith had been working assiduously in the interests of Sarawak. The Rajah had now abandoned the idea of Protection and was bent on securing Great Britain's recognition of Sarawak as an independent State. "I hope Mr J. A. Smith will urge *recognition* failing protection," he wrote to Miss Burdett Coutts, "in fact I should prefer it to barren and lukewarm Protection." Mrs Brown, too, was to play her part. "I have told Mr J. A. Smith that he may deal with the other members of the Cabinet," wrote the Rajah in a letter to Mrs Brown, "but that I make over Mr Gladstone to your tender mercies. He may (thus inspired) look upon recognition in a light more favourable than Protection." This was because when Mr Abel Smith had approached Gladstone on the subject of Protection he had found him irritated and opposed. "His irritation," wrote Mr Abel Smith to Miss Burdett Coutts, "was not founded on the weakness of the Rajah's claims or any misgivings about the value of Sarawak, but solely on the condition of England and the impolicy of adding territory both on imperial and financial grounds."

The Rajah's supporters worked resolutely to secure this new objective and the following letter¹ from Mr J. Abel Smith to Lord Russell proclaims their success.

¹ Copy in Mr John Abel Smith's hand.

Chester Square,
May 22, 1863.

DEAR LORD RUSSELL,

I have seen Lord Palmerston this morning. I stated to him the opinion of the Law officers as to the absence of all constitutional objections to the recognition of the independence of Sir James Brooke's Government in Sarawak. The enquiry subsequently made under your directions by Col. Cavenagh and detailed in his report printed for the information of the Cabinet.

Further also Mr Brooke's rebellious and violent letters to his uncle. Sir James' return to the East, the meeting with his nephew in Singapore and his unqualified submission with tears and acknowledgement of his offence—Sir James' arrival in Sarawak and his affectionate reception there by his Council and people, concluding with a detailed account of Capt. Brooke's conduct since his arrival in England with his absurd legal notice served at the Foreign Office. In fact Lord Palmerston permitted me to state at some length the whole position of the matter and the circumstances connected with it as far as I know them and I am happy to add that he has authorised me to tell you that he has no objection to the immediate recognition of Sarawak, and he repeated that it will be a pleasure to him to find himself in a position to do anything agreeable to Sir James Brooke.

I am,

Dear Lord Russell,

always very faithfully yours,

JOHN ABEL SMITH.

Thus all objections were at last removed. The Rajah's title to his sovereignty had been found to be unassailable and Colonel Cavenagh's report had proved satisfactory, in that it had assured the Foreign Office that Sarawak possessed an established government which was respected and obeyed by the people. At a Cabinet meeting in August the Government decided to recognize Sarawak as an independent State under the rule of Rajah Brooke and to appoint a British Consul as the most direct and least formal method of proclaiming recognition.¹

Miss Burdett Coutts was delighted. Recognition placed the territory in a far more secure position and was "an entire vindication of Sir James Brooke and his object." When the Treasury's sanction of the consul's salary had been secured she was able to send a telegram to the Rajah announcing the good news. It is to this telegram that the next instalment of the Rajah's letter refers.

¹ The first consul was Mr G. T. Ricketts, appointed January 19, 1864.

2nd October, 1863. I got the Telegram, and understood the meaning—afterwards came the letters of 18th and 26th August, all announcing the glad tidings of recognition. It takes a weight off my mind, and relieves me from the struggle between duty and inclination. To apply for aid to any other country than England was a painful duty—Glorious news. I leave Sarawak in perfect safety, and with my convictions, I could not doubt the true people and devoted followers about me. Better they betray me, than I suspect them and if half you say were well founded, I would not rule Sarawak a day longer—but it really is not so, nor will Mr B venture out, but if he does, everything is ready for him. I shall be in Marseilles six days after you get this, and travel leisurely to London. I reserve a folio of talk, till we meet. The glorious news will cheer me on my voyage—Please let me hear, and God Bless you.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

P.S. I am bringing home a child in company—Mr B's poor motherless infant. Of course he will abuse me, but I will heap coals of fire upon his head.

None of the Rajah's supporters seem at this time to have had much confidence in Charles Brooke. Charles La Touche, writing to Mrs Brown on the way out to Sarawak, said, "The Rajah seems to be devoted to his nephew who, I think, is not a bad fellow on the whole, though very *cold-blooded*—dreadful expression of mine is it not? I mean, however, that he does not appear to reciprocate his uncle's warm affection—but perhaps he is not demonstrative."

The last two words were the truth of Charles Brooke's temperament, and it may have accounted for the doubts as to his fidelity which Miss Burdett Coutts certainly shared for a time, but the following letter, enclosed by the Rajah in a letter to Miss Burdett Coutts, must have done much to set her doubts at rest, and shows that Charles Brooke recognized her as the heiress to the Sarawak Raj and felt it incumbent on him to give her assurances of his loyalty.

Sarawak,
Sept 23rd, '63.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I wish to assure you that I shall thoroughly abide by the Rajah's instructions during his life and after his death—and you may trust my faith and fidelity to do so. I have no apprehension about the state of the country—and feel confident that Officers of the Sarawak Government are as desirous of doing their duty

Sept 23rd / 63

Sarawak

Dear Miss Courtts/

I wish to assure

you that I shall thoroughly abide
by the Rajah's instructions during
his life and after his death -
& you may trust my faith
and fidelity to do so —

I have no apprehension about
the state of the country - & feel
confident the Officers of the



as I am, and I believe that there is a mutual trust and confidence that all will go right in the Rajah's absence.

Believe me to remain

Yr obedient Servant,

C. J. BROOKE.

The Rajah's statement that "everything was ready for Captain Brooke should he try to return to Sarawak," was not an idle one. In an earlier letter (September 1) he had explained his precautions:

A man, who knows him, visits each steamer from Europe, upon its arrival in Singapore, and Mr Brooke's advent will instantly be reported to the Agents, who will place a watch upon his movements. Letters will be delivered from me to the Governor and Senior Naval Officer in the Straits, requesting that neither countenance nor aid may be given to Mr Brooke's designs to disturb the peace of Sarawak, and the Enlistment Act will be enforced by my Lawyers, should he attempt to engage men, who will likewise serve a notice upon the Captain and Owners of any vessel he may hire, or take a passage aboard, to the effect that the vessel on such a service will be confiscated by the Sarawak Government, and the crew made prisoners. At the same time, 12 men will be *quietly* sent over as passengers aboard the *Rainbow*, to guard Mr Brooke upon his entering the river, and the Gunboats, *Rainbow* and lighter boats will be ready to receive the intruder. The Chiefs and principal people will then go aboard, and tell him he must quit the territory, and the Master of the vessel will be ordered to sail under penalty of capture.

With these precautions taken the Rajah could return to England with a clear and quiet mind. His vigorous personality had once more asserted itself. Once more his beloved Sarawak was secure.

CHAPTER VIII

WAR AND PEACE

November, 1863—January, 1865

The Rajah reaches England—Miss Burdett Coutts fears reconciliation between him and Captain Brooke—St John's estimate of the Rajah's character—Project for forming a Company to administer and develop Sarawak—Perilous escapade of the Rajah's bull-finch—Henry Bulwer's proposals for colonising Sarawak—Miss Burdett Coutts is suspicious of Mr Templer's conciliatory attitude—Her plain speaking to the Rajah—Her resentment against Charles Brooke—Friendship becomes strained—Miss Burdett Coutts gives the Rajah a taste of her "Arctic manners"—Peace restored.

*Off Marseilles,
12th November, 1863.*

MY DEAR LADIES,

I had your kind and welcome letter at Malta, and confess to a little disappointment that I shall not find you in Town, for after such a wandering, I am naturally anxious to see you, and do not feel patient under the inevitable delay which must occur in London. The news is most favorable and really affairs look more prosperous and hopeful than ever they did before. I hope shortly to enjoy your society and talk over all this at Ehrenburgh Hall.¹

What I have to look out for is Mr Brooke's return to Sarawak. I do not think it would much signify, though I might decide to go with him, to make assurance doubly sure. It is to be hoped the idea will not enter his head and Colonel Cavenagh's letter which he will receive by this mail will be a great discouragement and the recognition will be the death blow to his absurd and wicked movement.

Tomorrow (13th) we reach Marseilles and I will add any thing I may have to say after the receipt of my letters there. On

¹ Miss Burdett Coutts's house at Torquay. It stood in Belgrave Road and after the Baroness's death it was converted into a private hotel and re-named Erin Hall. The adjoining house, Roseneau, also became a private hotel and was then called Rosetor. Mr. Herbert A. Hield, the Town Clerk of Torquay, informs me that the two houses have now been modernized and joined together by means of a dining-hall and re-named Rosetor, the proprietor being Captain W. J. Brockman.

the 14th we reach Lyons—on the 15th Dijon—on the 16th Paris—Hotel Mirabeau—17th, Halt—18th, Sleep at Folkestone and on the 19th reach Ford's (late Brown's) Hotel, Dover Street. I am brimfull of news and wisdom, ready to let off whenever we meet—Good bye.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

The letter which provoked the following reply from Miss Burdett Coutts has not been preserved; but it is clear that Mrs Savage, the Rajah's sister, had been trying to bring about a reconciliation between Captain Brooke and her brother, and that Miss Burdett Coutts was apprehensive (not for the first time) that the Rajah would allow his good nature and his feeling for his family to get the better of his resolution to have no more to do with his nephew.

Torquay,
Decr 4, 1863.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

Your letter this morning is a puzzle to us and would be so to any friend who read it and was acquainted with the circumstances—I and they could never understand *to what* all this "adjustment" and "submission" tends. *Your* friends can only see that Capt B has insulted and maligned you—that he has not even preserved towards you, his uncle, his benefactor and in Sarawak his Sovereign, the ordinary courtesies of social life. What then are the differences to be adjusted? Capt B has himself broken all his which bound him to you as his ruler and to what *now* is his "submission" to lead—you may pardon ingratitude and revolt of course personally, if your Nephew repented and sought forgiveness, but *this* could not be termed in any sense an adjustment of differences. If submission leads to nothing else I think the employment of such terms calculated to mislead the Johnsons and would be turned against you by them supposing they acted upon Mr Savage's letter and subsequently found that all that was meant by such phrases was repentance one side and pardon on the other, pure and simple without ulterior view or object.

I contend, and every friend of *yours* will say the same, that the use of these terms are unsuitable and inconsistent with your position and character, either in respect of Sarawak or of your family, but of course if it were only a matter between you and them—no one would have any right to interfere. But this subject stands on a footing different. You cannot lower or succumb

to your family without involving others—I refer specially to Mr J. A. Smith, who has connected himself so much with your History upon public grounds, that his character is, upon this point, affected by your conduct and you ought not to permit, to any one, the use of terms (if you are aware of their use) which are derogatory to your position. You must, or rather I should say, you ought not to tamper or allow any tampering with respect to this. You have your family, you naturally would conciliate and consult their feelings in preference to other friends, but upon this occasion you cannot allow these friends to be lowered to them and in the eyes of others. You have a right (perhaps) to sacrifice yourself, but not others—Mr J.A.S. and all your truest friends, all that have worked for you—have treated Capt B and his statement as absolutely without foundation—an unmitigated and unjustifiable wrong; if on the contrary there is a question of an adjustment of differences the case is not the same.

I have written this freely and frankly once and for all—not for you to worry yourself with writing, because there is nothing more to say. You know the way in which your family and their friends put the subject to you—you now see in what I write all that your own personal, but not *family* friends, will *feel*—you only can act. I will stake my life that every working true friend of yours (disconnected with your family) would endorse every word I have written.

Yrs always truly,
A. G. B. COUTTS.

DEAR RAJAH SIR J. BROOKE,

I am sure you will believe yr friends have yr good at heart. Could I say more?

Yours very sincerely,
H. BROWN.

7 George Street,
London,
5th Decr., 1863.

MY DEAR LADY,

Your letter just received and I will only say I agree in every word you say—if such conduct was pursued by me. But on the contrary the more I reflected the less I can find to excuse Mr Brooke, or myself were I to adjust matters after such conduct. Mrs Johnson writes of “adjustment”—Margaret¹ replies that in

¹ Mrs Savage, the Rajah’s second sister.

her opinion it must be "entire submission" in the first place. Now *entire submission* would be an advantage to Sarawak and on the other hand it will be a comfort to my sister Margaret that she has done all she can to soften the bitter spirit of a sister whom she loved all her life. Be assured however that as I have never been a man of compromises I shall never be so in this matter, which does not admit of "adjustment" upon equal terms, but if Mr B were to submit—i.e. retract his letters—renounce his claims—beg your pardon and properly humble himself to the law, the subject would be adjusted—and well over. He could never return to Sarawak, but he might receive pardon. Farewell, dear Ladies,

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

MY DEAR [MRS] BROWN,

Dont I know that my friends have my good at heart!!! but they will think me Bodo—i.e. as nearly as English will give it—Soft—and I am not soft.

Ever yours,
J. B.

Miss Burdett Coutts apparently accepted the Rajah's explanation, for there is no rancour in this letter to Charles Brooke,¹ even though her "*we* have scarcely seen him" betrays a slightly nettled resentment.

Ehrenburgh Hall,
Torquay,
Decr 9, /63.

MY DEAR SIR,

I think you will be glad of a few lines to tell you that your uncle the Rajah reached England in perfect health—indeed it has struck all his friends, that the two visits which he has paid to Borneo since 1859-60 have proved beneficial to him although the reverse had been somewhat feared. You will hear from himself all *other* particulars of his journey—but most likely this will not include *himself* personally. *We* have scarcely seen him since his return, as he came merely for a day and returned to London and is now gone on some visits, I believe, but all the friends who have seen more of him and longer than we have, write in a general notice of his health and strength—long may he be spared to carry out his far seeing plans for the benefit and

¹ Draft in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand.

happiness of his people, for whose welfare he has struggled on, through so much of difficulty and discouragement, and whenever the time may come and this loyal and grateful people lose the hand, heart and mind which raised them into a free and happy commonwealth, then you will find your full consolation in the thought that you fulfilled your duty to your Uncle and followed "the straight path" which cannot but be one of much pain to you, notwithstanding all your affection and loyalty to the Rajah, and you will remember with satisfaction the sentiments embodied in the letter which he gave me from you—sentiments which have softened to him the many trials of the last few months—We hope he will spend Xmas with us here, where we are now settled for the winter.

I venture to offer you all the best wishes of the Season and New Year now at hand in which as in kind remembrances Mrs Brown begs to unite. We hope your own health has not suffered, for you had need of change of climate. Perhaps you will let us hear of you occasionally, as it will always give us pleasure to hear of your welfare.

Believe me to remain

Yrs sincerely,

A. G. BURDETT COUTTS.

Ultimately Captain Brooke abandoned his campaign and we hear little more of him. So ended an unhappy episode which sorely harassed the Rajah's declining years. It had brought out all the hardness in his nature. Looking back, it would be easy to say that a little more tolerance would have prevented the affair from assuming the proportions that it did; yet there is no doubt that Captain Brooke's course of action on reaching England was ill-advised and as an antagonist he was no match for his redoubtable uncle. As St John said in a letter to Mrs Brown, written from Haiti on April 23, 1863:

I wonder that men who have lived in Borneo can be so conceited as to imagine they can for a moment oppose the Rajah's influence there. They forget that all their power rests on the prestige acquired for the English by the Rajah, and that directly it is known he is against any individual, it is useless to prolong the struggle. Mr Edwardes could not get the Sultan to answer a letter when it was known the Rajah was angry, and the good treatment I received in most parts of Borneo arose from the Rajah having called me his adopted son, and not because I was Consul-General. At Muka it was thought the Rajah was dead and they fought against Sarawak. It was known that he was alive and

well, and all resistance ceased. You can never get weak conceited people to see that; it is the old story of the fly on the wheel. I know it myself, I am very determined and confirmed in my opinions when alone, but when the Rajah is present I have little will of my own. The Rajah has an unfair share of great and good qualities, as he appears to have deprived all his family of their portions, and left them ill-mannered, ignorant, selfish, grasping and ungrateful.

Soon after the Rajah's return to England his thoughts appear to have been occupied by the idea of forming a Company to administer and develop Sarawak, much on the lines of the Chartered Company which was formed to administer British North Borneo nearly twenty years later. It is probable that the idea originated with Spenser St John, who in November, 1863, wrote from Haiti to Miss Burdett Coutts:

You remark "that you own to feel puzzled as to how the country (Sarawak) is to be governed during Sir James Brooke's absence." The same thought has occupied me since the Spring, as Sir James cannot make, with due regard to his health, many more visits to Sarawak.

If my idea of a Great Governing Company were carried out, and I were to be the Director, I would take out with me eight or ten young men, relatives or friends of the supporters of the Company, and establish one or two with every officer at the outstations, and I would swamp the influence of those at the capital with three or four new men: in fact at present there are three there who care nothing for Mr Brooke. The Bishop is my *bête noir* as he is not only the enemy of the Rajah but the warm supporter of Mr Brooke, over whom he exercises a great influence. I would give the Bishop an unlimited leave of absence from Sarawak. The young men of whom I speak would receive but £200 a year each at first.

I own to feeling great repugnance to the idea of quitting the public service, and nothing but the thought of the grand results which would arise from the success of such a company sweetens the unpleasant potion.

I think myself that there are the elements in Sarawak of a prosperous, almost of a powerful country: and that a governing Company might rival on a small scale the old East India Company as the North of Borneo would soon fall under its sway. It is a grand idea, and if carried out on a grand scale, would be a wonderful success.

No doubt Miss Burdett Coutts consulted Mr John Abel Smith and he discussed the project with the Rajah, who was obviously attracted by the idea and hastened to consult the Ladies, whom he called "The Committee for Sarawak Affairs."

6 Royal Crescent,
Bath.

Feb. 28, 1864.

MY DEAR LADY,

I want to meet you at Holly Lodge on Friday or Saturday as may be—if you will have me. I think the time has come to move forward and Mr J. A. Smith wishes me to be in Town. We could consider what can be done about a Company and I could help Mr Kay to put it into form. I dread a *mere* mercantile corporation grasping at profit—but wish it with profits to join responsibilities and principles. Please let me hear from Carlisle.

Ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

It must have been after this meeting that the following Memorandum regarding the formation of the Company was written. The document is in Miss Burdett Coutts's handwriting, but whether jotted down by her during a talk with the Rajah, or whether a copy of a document written by the Rajah or Mr John Abel Smith, there is nothing to show.

Memorandum on the Formation of a Governing Company

The Govt to consist of the Rajah, the Council and the Company.

The Rajah and Council to decide all political points taxation—Treaties, etc., etc.—changes of law, etc.

The Company to deal as other Companies in trade and other commercial relations.

The Rajah to provide his successor—by will or otherwise, whether that Successor be one person or the Company as a corporate body.

The Rajah to put into the Company half its capital. Say the capital is 100,000£ the Rajah should give 50,000 to be used exclusively for the trading purposes of the Company for developing the resources.

The Rajah to grant a percentage on the increased revenue of the Country no matter from what source the revenue is derived.

The Council to consist of the Rajah and a Council as at present

constituted, the English Consul—supposing the English Govt will grant protection and countenance to Sarawak—and the Director of the Company, to whom certain discretionary powers must be conceded. The English Consul or the Director to be Governor of Sarawak in the absence or ill health of the Rajah or his representative.

The Company to repay a certain amount into the public revenue, to be invested as a reserve fund in case of unexpected contingencies—either to the State or to the Company. The appropriation of this sum to be decided only by the Rajah in Council. This sum might also be applied for the Liquidation of debts. The Charter to be open to revision after a given number of years—and every revision to be approved by the Council. The Company to be mixed as the Govt—Native and European, the European to preponderate.

On the cessation of the present Raj, should no successor be appointed, the Country might be bequeathed to the Company on condition that they govern in the same manner as heretofore, that they undertake to pay the debts due from the State—subject to the provision that the English Govt have the option to take the Country on the same terms. If the English Govt will not grant a protectorate, the option of the reversion of the Country might be secured to England; that is, the English Govt would always confirm the new Raj or take the Country.

The Raj should always be carried on, by whomsoever held, under the name of James Brooke.

If the English Govt would sanction the Rajah's forming a confederacy with Siam and other native States, which no person but himself could so advantageously form and promote, a Company might acquire very valuable privileges, and English interests promoted at small expense.

Burrator,
9th April, 1864.

Most alarming accident at Burrator!!

We are sorry to state that yesterday morning at 11 A.M. Mr Tommy Bully, when taking his accustomed exercise, received a sudden fright and flew into the fire. The dismayed spectators gave him up for lost, when Mr Bully by an heroic effort flew out again without injury. Mr T. B. is in his usual health and spirits, after passing a good night.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

The above will freeze up your blood—but it all comes of crinoline which was slightly singed. I have settled all my business and shall be with you upon Tuesday—and accompany to town. Excepting Sunday the weather during the week has been very fine.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

By May the idea of the governing Company seems to have been abandoned, and since the negotiations with Belgium had been given up, the Rajah's thoughts turned again to a closer relationship between Sarawak and Great Britain, as the following letter to Mr John Abel Smith shows.

London,
16th May, 1864.

MY DEAR SMITH,

I will mention briefly the view I have taken of the future of Sarawak. To maintain Sarawak under its present government would be impossible, and the attempt would end in ruin. Thus I have been alive to the necessity of placing the country in security, and gradually effecting a change of government, so that the weaker might be merged into the stronger State, as progress called for a more regular system of administration. The people are fully alive to the precarious situation of the country and government, and to the dangers resulting from it. They would thankfully, I believe, accept the protection of England, or place their country under the Sovereignty of the Crown; but for their sake, and the interests of England, the change in the administration of Sarawak, should be gradual and well considered.

The existing Government suits the people; and the system, which has grown up during twenty years, works well. Change, it is true, must come with improvement, but do not let it come till wanted. Grant to the people the rights of free men; and do in Sarawak, what England desires and attempts to do throughout her possessions—i.e. respect the rights of the inhabitants, and let them enjoy the honest pride of sharing in the administration of the Government, under which they live.

There are two ways in which this could be done—

I. England might acquire *the right to take possession* of Sarawak, at pleasure; and until she does so, *grant* a protectorate.

II. Sarawak might be placed at once under the Sovereignty of the Crown of England; whilst no change should be made in the

institutions, or government of the Country, until required. This was the proposition made by Mr St John, and, either way, change would be gradually introduced, and the measure be the most acceptable to the population.

Matters of detail I do not mention, and personal considerations shall be no obstacle to any settlement, which shall place Sarawak in security, under a permanent government.

Believe me,
Very sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

The proposals for colonizing Sarawak had come to the notice of Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), then British Ambassador to Turkey, and he sent the Rajah the following ingenious suggestions, which, although scarcely practical in a tropical country where white people cannot (or do not) undertake manual labour, are worth the attention of any Power bent on colonizing in temperate lands to-day. The suggestions bring to mind the theme Miss Rose Macaulay worked out in her delicious novel *Orphan Island*.

*British Embassy,
Constantinople,
May 19th, 1864.*

MY DEAR RAJAH,

Mr Barnes tells me that there is a large project on foot for colonizing a portion of Borneo, and that the basis of such a plan is not fixed.

This induces me to suggest one, which has occupied my thoughts during all my life.

Colonies, in general, have been formed from the most unruly, vicious, or indigent, from an old country.

Their habits are fixed, their constitutions ruined.

My notion, which, if I had had leisure, I should have put into practice, would rest on new conditions.

Supposing a large grant of land—especially in a Southern climate.

I would have selected a small but sufficient number of adults of the best characters, and having certain requisite qualities. Under these, I would have colonized—by means of schools, of both sexes; choosing the pupils, as far as possible, from Orphan Asylums.

The ages from 9 to 12.

To the female schools, there should be Teachers for the useful branches of female education.

For the boys, there should be schools for learning agriculture, masonry, carpentering, etc, etc.

The Colony would be first localized in some large building, on one spot.

In four years, the couples would be marriageable and located in different villages—which could easily be formed after the manner of education that would be given.

I need hardly say that it is then that the value of property would take place.

The population would be disciplined, instructed—they would import no bad habits—their constitutions would be unimpaired, and gradually seasoned to a new climate.

Religious instruction would, of course, not be neglected.

I sketch but hastily the ideas I have long meditated, and of which I have sought, at various times, to test the practicability.

If these were approved, I would assist cordially, directly or indirectly, in the undertaking.

The first expenses would have to be met, and be repaid in succeeding years.

It would be necessary to describe the extent and nature of territory; the different advantages allowed—the territory should be extensive.

Just read through my four sheets of paper, and let me know your views and opinions.

Very sincerely yours, and with every kind wish for the success of the undertaking,

HENRY W. BULWER.

About this time Miss Burdett Coutts conceived the project of taking up a tract of land in Sarawak, not for her own profit but rather with a view to show by experimental planting the agricultural possibilities of the country, and also to improve the planting methods of the Dayaks by means of visual example. Part of her plan was to instal a Church of England clergyman on the Estate, who should work among the natives and be independent of the Borneo Mission. As her manager she selected a Mr Sewell, who had had planting experience in the East.

Mr Fairbairn was enthusiastic, but recommended her to withhold missionary work for two or three years, until “the reign of order, justice and kindness, and the example of religious duties performed by the Europeans” should have prepared the way, rather than make “a ruder and zealous onslaught on the simple ways and beliefs (if they have any) of the natives.”

That this project was hers, and not the Rajah's, is shown by the following letter:

Burrator,
8th June, 1864.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I should not mind letting you have land in Sarawak, in the way most pleasing to yourself, but our Land regulations were made to come into operation after the establishment of the government upon a firmer, and more enlarged foundation. At present we have no surveyor, no register and no means of giving formal title, but Mr Sewell might consult the Tuan Muda how far it could be done, or whether it would be better to define, and mark out, the land in the first instance, and give a provisional title, till the survey enabled the government to grant a formal one, upon registration. I do not see however why you should pay money for the land which ought to be your's for nothing. I have recommended to Mr J. A. S. that the Land regulations should not be promulgated publicly until the future government be arranged. Good Bye.

Your's ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

The land was finally selected in the neighbourhood of Kuching, near the junction of the Quop and Sarawak rivers.

The following Memorandum written by the Rajah gives the outline of the plan Miss Burdett Coutts had in mind.

Memorandum for the Tuan Muda and the Resident.

The Raja has bestowed a grant of land, in order to enable Miss Burdett Coutts to carry out her desire to improve agriculture amongst the Dayaks, and to encourage plantations, and farming suitable to the climate and calculated to advance the resources of the country.

This plan, prudently carried out, will confer a substantial and lasting benefit upon Sarawak, and should be met by government with every encouragement and support. The grant, at first, will be for five hundred acres, (to be increased as required) held under a provisional title and subject to the Land regulations, whenever they come into operation. The boundaries of this grant should be well defined, and the provisional title given under the seal of State, with the signatures of the Raja and Tuan Muda appended to it.

Mr Sewell now proceeds to Sarawak to take charge of the establishment, and to carry out the objects above mentioned:

He has received instructions to place himself in unreserved communication with the Tuan Muda and the Resident, and the Raja is confident, they will assist him with their advice and cooperation, and regard the advancement of his undertaking, as identical with the best interests of the government and people.

The Raja wishes to point out that much will depend upon the selection of locality, where Mr Sewell is to initiate his undertaking. It must be in the vicinity of a Dayak tribe, the salubrity of the spot must be ascertained, the soil good, water conveyance at hand and the distance from Sarawak not too great. To these advantages should be added if possible good feeding ground for cattle. The Raja indicates (without recommending) two places likely to meet the requirements—1st, Mungu Babi in the Samarahan, and 2nd, Tambawang Segu in Sarawak. Both these places combine many advantages and are worthy of minute examination.

The locality once decided and the establishment settled, the rest of the plan should gradually grow out of Mr Sewell's experience and the bent of the people's inclination, but in the first instance it should be demonstrated year after year, that the new system of culture is better and more certain than the old, and that the Dayaks may be taught it, and share in its profits. The most obstinate prejudices must give way before time and proof, appealed to with patience and good temper.

The Dayaks may likewise be led by example to plant pepper, areca, cocoanuts, coffee, near their villages, by apportioning a certain number of plants to each family, willing to take them, and afterwards seeing that they are taken care of. The force of example will spread in an enlarging circle—prejudices, ignorance and stupidity will gradually give way and profits will increase and increasing comforts will do the rest and pave the way for Christianity and civilization. It is not requisite to detail the other advantages which Mr Sewell's mission may bestow on the country, but the Raja may remark that he may recommend that support should be given to any plan, for the development of the country, which shall offer a sound prospect of success, and of yielding a fair return for capital.

There are numerous undertakings to which his attention may be turned, but it will be sufficient to add that every effort must be based upon the principles of political economy and that in teaching the Dayaks to advance their condition it must be gently but firmly taught them that they must help themselves and labor for the sake of reward.

With these remarks the Raja enjoins the Tuan Muda, and the Resident, to advance the undertaking entrusted to Mr Sewell's charge with all the influence and weight of government and to explain thoroughly both to the Malays and Dayaks, the great advantages to be derived from it.

Burrator,
31st August, 1864.

MY DEAR LADY,

Yesterday I received my letters from Sarawak which are as cheerful, and encouraging, as usual. The Tuan Muda tells me he has written to you about the farm, which he thinks should be at Sibu on the Rejang, where the Dayaks are more advanced and would be more ready to adopt agricultural improvements. This is true enough, but the distance from Sarawak in my opinion would more than counter-balance any advantage on the score mentioned, and the backwardness of the Sarawak Dayaks might be urged for improving them in the first instance. I hold as before therefore that the vicinity to the capital, will be the best locality for the undertaking.

There is a note from Mr Crookshank to the Tuan Muda, upon the introduction of pepper planting, upon the following plan. Mr C had been in communication with some of the respectable, and more wealthy Chinese shopkeepers, who would willingly go into pepper planting were assistance given to them. He suggests that each respectable man, should begin with \$1000 dollars of his own, and that \$1000 should be advanced to each for three years *without interest*, they being responsible for the capital lent, at the end of three years—and that the sum of \$2000 in each case should be applied solely to bring over planters by making the necessary advances, procuring tools, building houses etc—and the planters being established, would pay back the advances in produce at an equitable rate.

This \$2000 would start say ten pepper estates, and bring many planters into the country. The plan appears to me feasible and safe, and I shall reply to it that the government may start one or two, and recommend the plan to Mr Sewell, and that I would mention it in anticipation to you, but it is just the sort of plan which I think might be adopted, with advantage, only you will find the *bête noire* Chinese always intruding.

He concludes by saying that the "Sarawak Sugar Company is now a fair specimen of *what can be done*, but even this wants more capital to carry on the works till next year, for the crop is only

small this year, but next it ought to yield 6000 pikuls of sugar, besides rum” Bravo this, but not logical as this sugar company is a specimen of what has to be yet done—But it proves good hopes and I think rational expectations. Further, as it is *not logical* I leave it for Mrs Brown’s instinct to say how far it will succeed!! My instinct says Yes! but then reason gave her a nudge, and after all is not what we call *Instinct* a rapid conclusion of reason?

The rest of the news is, that the Dutch have been defeated on the Melawi river which joins the Kapuas—which again is near the boundary of Sarawak. The Tuan Muda is Master-in-Chief of these countries on the Sarawak side of the limits and he is acting judiciously in the border relations—he writes that the Dutch have much to learn, and what can be expected he asks where there is no sympathy and nothing but the sword to drive a free people to pay taxes? What indeed? Freedom, honest pride, and self reliance, are trampled under foot and the native is brought into antagonism with the white man! How have I preached on this head—How insisted upon first principles, belonging to the Heart of man, black and white. How have I preached and how deaf is the ear of enlightened civilization. Wapping might understand—Whitehall is ignorant. Brutal babes and sucklings are the recipients, mayhap, of what educated and Christian society knows nothing, and care less. I am bitter when I think of this—of the mere vulgar art of government, which is at the lowest level like dirty water. This is the budget and it is highly satisfactory that the progress proposed here is sought in Sarawak. No letter from you today, but I am looking to hear of your movement to the South.

Yours ever,

J. BROOKE.

It will be remembered that the Rajah had broken off his long friendship with Mr John Templer. Now, however, Mrs Templer attempted to bring about a reconciliation and the Rajah, although he did not wish to resume the friendly relations, felt inclined to agree provided that Mr Templer retracted his former statements. Miss Burdett Coutts, who had always vehemently sided with the Rajah against Templer, saw only weakness in this course. She believed in the principle of once an enemy always an enemy, and made no bones about saying so. The Rajah’s next letter is in reply to her remonstrances.

Burrator,

13th December, 1864.

MY DEAR LADY,

I wished for the benefit of your advice without a foregone conclusion of my own, and I do not see any material difference of opinion, as to the reply to be returned to Mrs T's letter. How much, or how little, of design, and concerted action there might be we cannot know, but this need not affect our course. If Mr Templer prefer the retraction, something will be gained—and if he refuse, the character of the overture will be apparent and the question set at rest. To avoid discussion, present or future, I have thought it best to leave the choice to him, and either way will suit me. Mr Templer, with all those other gentlemen, have lost my confidence and there, so far as I am concerned, is an end. I do not therefore comprehend *why* I should lean to them, and desert my friends, for my enemies? I do not forget what they attempted, but strong feeling has passed, and has been succeeded by indifference and contempt.

If they ever deceive me again, the fault will be mine, but I do not think with my eyes open this is likely to happen. I must be just for my own sake, and civility costs nothing, whilst the betrayal of emotion, whether of resentment, suspicion or vexation, would be damaging. I can pass through the decencies of social life, if it become requisite, with calmness, but without kindness of feeling, and in saying that confidence is gone, is to say it cannot be regained. I am not pliable by nature, and my capacity of forgiving is the work of art.

I have sent the letter in reply to Mrs T- to Mr J. A. Smith, who with yourselves may judge how far it meets the case—i.e. to obtain a recantation from Mr T or let him decline a just amende—and so settle the matter.

I am sorry the letter arrived open, and will hunt out some sealing wax (if to be had) to make this safe. Your letters are beyond the reach of servants.

My best wishes be with you.

Ever your's,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. We have had thunder, lightning, rain and hail today.

Burrator,

15th December, 1864.

MY DEAR LADIES,

The Tuan Muda's letter is most satisfactory and he begs me to say he will answer the Missus's letter after he has met Mr

Sewell. He was pleased with it and says, he will point out to Mr S- the advantages of "Stapok," which is about 4 or 5 miles by road and river from the Town, as a central position whence the agricultural tuition of the Dayaks may radiate, better than by a location near to a single tribe. The only other news of importance is that the Tuan Muda states that as the Dutch authorities have taken no notice of his request for inquiry and justice, for the murder of our Dayaks by the Dayaks of Sambas, he has been unable to prevent their doing justice to themselves, after their own mode, i.e. by retaliation—but that it shall be checked, when that has been made.

Now the consideration is, ought I, at the present stage, to represent the facts to the Dutch government, and seek a better arrangement in future? The affairs of the Dutch on the Upper Kapuas, i.e. Sentang—Melawi and other native states, the T.M. represents as being in confusion, the entire population being in arms and fighting in their jungles—Sambas has consequently been denuded of troops and it was reported that a body of Chinese (2000) would try to make their escape to Sarawak—for strange as it may sound it is true that the Dutch do not allow the Chinese egress from their dominions in Borneo. Like a rat trap, once in, they cannot get out. The T.M. says he is ready to receive them, but will be very cautious.

It is cold today for the first time this winter. The shortest day has nearly arrived, and then to look forward to Spring.

Yours ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
17th December, 1864.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

You must never think of *offending me* by freely expressing your opinions. I was aware of what you said. Bad it was, but it is sometimes wise not to dissect the motives and intentions of people too closely and to accept their professions so that they be serviceable to your ends. The lady I quite put out of the account, but her husband¹ must decide now, as he did four years ago, and we are thus I believe rid of the question, in an easy way—Oh! do not call it hypocrisy!—but a *little Humbug*, is it not permissible for virtue's sake?

Thank the Missus for her letter. The difference of opinion is natural, and merely upon details—my conscience does not

¹ John Templer.

twinge at the use of kindly terms, but nevertheless they must do the right thing, according to my view.

May I petition for the overflow of the London schools, for poor Sheepstor, as we had one year before, in the form of books—dolls—etc etc. We are to have a Christmas Tree at Mr Lowther's and a few prizes for our Scholars. I am pleased with the progress of the children and the attention Mr and Mrs Lowther pay them.

Ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

Mr Templer made the required retraction, on which Miss Burdett Coutts expressed herself as "most suspicious." He was a director of the Borneo Company and she told the Rajah she was persuaded that Mr Templer had eaten humble pie not because he was sorry but because he knew that Sarawak was more worth having than it had been before.

The following tart letter from her¹ shows the extent of her exasperation.

*Stratton Street,
December 27, 1864.*

MY DEAR RAJAH,

We are obliged by your seasonable wishes. Our weather is cold but likewise seasonable and very dry and not at all unduly severe. London is somewhat empty (as it is termed) for most people gather round Country firesides at this Season of the Year.

I make no further observation on your recent correspondence—I pity those, whose position compels them to accept hollow professions of affection, which "make Lovers' Vows as false as Dicers' Oaths and sweet religion a rhapsody of words." I demur however to your opinion that no "consequences" *can* ensue of "good or evil to either" from what you call "subsiding into quiet terms of kindness"! You have entered into this course for the reasons known to yourself and depend upon it they and theirs are not behind you in having an object in seeking and likewise submitting to it. The transaction is a conclusive testimony in proof of the efficiency of the endeavour of your *friends* to vindicate your character and to establish the peace and prosperity of Sarawak and thus I close this subject.

I propose to write to your Nephew the Tuan Muda. I am glad he was gratified by and appreciated my answer to his letter,

¹ Printed from a draft in her hand.

for though he is never likely to see or know much of me, still in the years of the future I should not be sorry should he feel some regret for the dislike and mistrust he did not conceal when you were both my guests in Paris.

We went to the Drury Lane Pantomime last evening—with all the Shuttleworth boys. The Scenery was beautiful, really quite a poem in action and the Theatre crammed with gay, bright, laughing faces. The Books were sent by Mrs Brown—she saw them in a Shop and thought they would be an acceptable and useful addition.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

A. G. B. COURTTS.

Burrator,

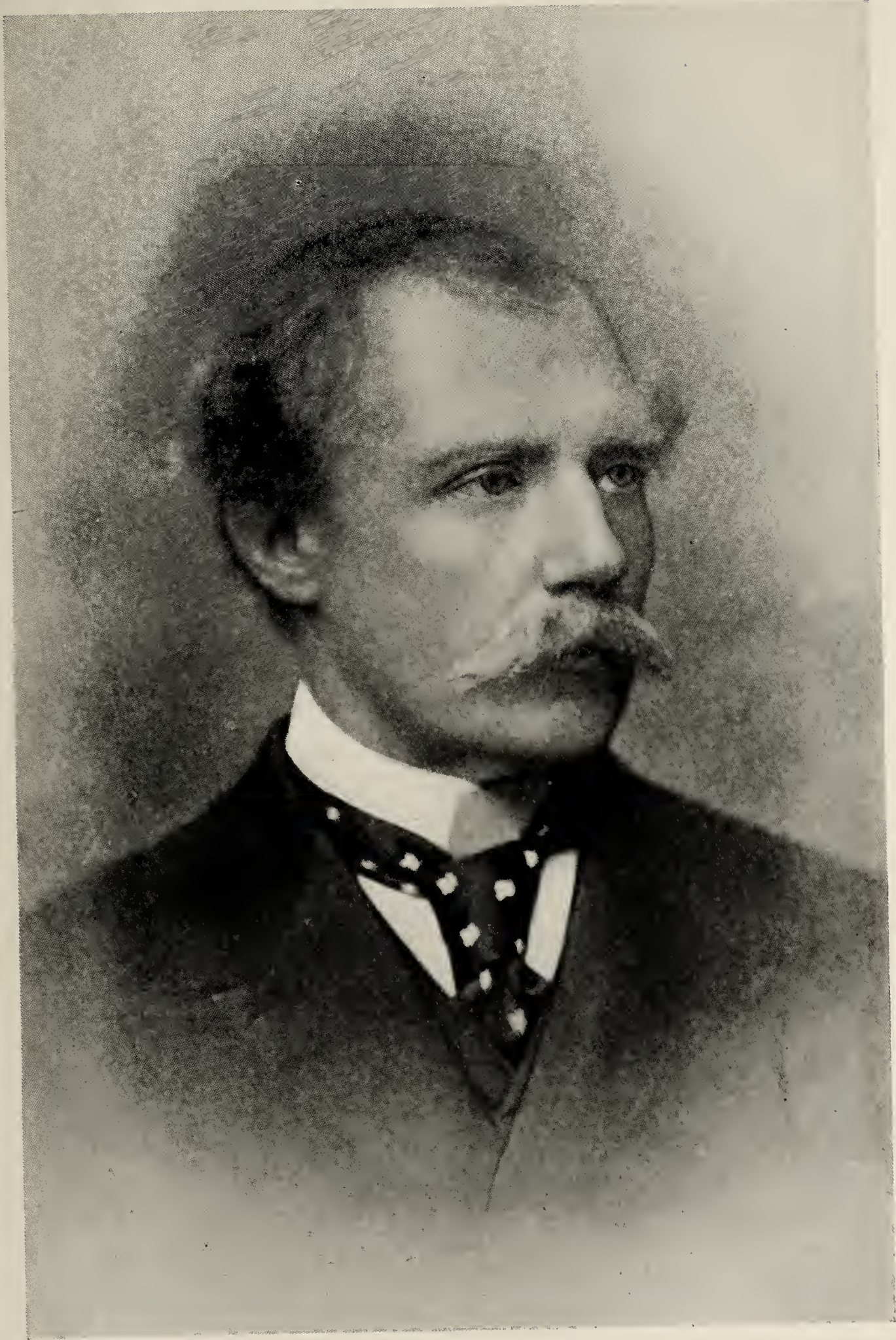
29th December, 1864.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have your letter of the 27th and Time must shew whether my judgment be correct on this matter! I thought it right to accept the overture of an old friend, when accompanied by the retraction of a statement which I considered to be important. I had no further motive nor object—I accepted the profession, but I did not judge the motive. I still continue at a loss to know how bad consequences can result? For, granting that the worst motives are at work, how can Mr Temper and his Co-directors, “get Sarawak?” or how step beyond the limits of their lease? Will it not be better then to wait till the motives become known, and then judge?

It is true, however, that recent occurrences brought about by the exertions of my friends, have improved, and I trust will continue to improve, the position of Sarawak, and this would lead the B.C.L. to wish to stand better with the Government than heretofore. It is the best proof of the efficient endeavours of my friends, to vindicate my fair fame, and support Sarawak—I accept it as such most gratefully, and acknowledge it without reserve. I am not likely to forget it in thought or deed!

I shall be very glad if the Tuan Muda becomes better acquainted with you, as his character develops itself under favorable circumstances to you. In Paris you mistook reserve for mistrust, and indeed so far from its being so, I know to the contrary, that is, if I am to believe the sentiments the Tuan Muda expressed in our unreserved communications. He is a reserved, sensitive man, difficult to know or appreciate out of Sarawak.



CHARLES BROOKE

Here the frost has disappeared. I have a shooting party today and I join them at one o'clock. The Christmas Tree comes off upon Friday.

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

The following letter from Miss Burdett Coutts shows that she was unconvinced by the Rajah's arguments.

*Stratton Street,
December 30, 1864.*

MY DEAR RAJAH,

Mr Templer's motives for his retractation of his belief in your insanity may be as good as was his assertion of it, for aught I can positively know. You must remember that my information, impressions and means of judging him, as also that the Borneo Co had designs on Sarawak, were derived from yourself alone—and I cannot suddenly change the opinions you have formed. As therefore I conceive him to have committed a great social wrong I must be excused if I do not quite understand such a full and affectionate renewal of intercourse as you have accepted.

I say nothing as to your thinking it right and politic to bring about this Retracting. I understand that necessity but I do not understand submitting to familiarity and professions of affection which, from all you have formerly said, I should have supposed you could not but consider insincere and therefore impossible to reciprocate in the way you have done. In short I cannot efface the impressions of all these people which you yourself have given.

I hope the weather continues pleasant for your shooting—here it is quite mild and a thaw, to disappointment of the skaters.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
A. B. G. COUTTS.

The Rajah now received a letter which revealed that Mr Sewell, the Manager of Quop Estate, had let it become known that Miss Burdett Coutts desired to employ Javanese rather than Chinese on her property. Doubtless she had the Chinese Insurrection in her mind; but the Rajah took a broader view and accordingly wrote to Mr John Abel Smith.

Private

Burrator,
29th December, 1864.

MY DEAR SMITH,

Read the enclosed from our government agent in Singapore and burn it. You will observe why I send it, and even if this untoward prejudice be acted upon, it should not be talked of—as national and class distinctions are mischievous.

I had a letter from Miss C yesterday to which I have replied today—I will talk it over when we meet, but pray try to prevent any *past* or *present* distrust of the Tuan Muda being expressed to him, or in any way so as to reach him. *I know him*, and he would not stop a day in Sarawak if exposed to it, from my friends.

The other matter is of no consequence, but you certainly rate Mr Templer and Mr Henderson¹ much higher than I do, both in talent and influence. If you tell me in what way they are to hurt us, I will guard against it, but I cannot see it myself, or why we should not await the development of their game before forming a judgment. Farewell.

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

In the last weeks of 1864 this unusual friendship, which had lasted with so much generosity on one side, so much genuine gratitude on the other, and with so much loyalty, kindness and consideration on both, began to suffer a strain. All friendships, but particularly those between a man and a woman, inevitably undergo such tests; but the personalities of these two friends, when opposed, made for conflict. The Rajah's character was strong and resolute. Time and again he had sought the advice of Miss Burdett Coutts, but when he adopted a course of action unadvised he was not to be turned from it. There were veins of hardness in his nature, but the mass was kindness, and the older he grew the less easy was it for him to harbour grievances and resentment against his fellow men.

Miss Burdett Coutts seems to have mistaken this philosophic tolerance for weakness. She had seen the Rajah's trustfulness betrayed and it may well be that she wished to guard him against being victimized again. That, undoubtedly, is what she believed herself, but there may have been more in her heart than that.

At all events, she had viewed with no little apprehension the settlement of several old feuds: with Captain Brooke, with Mr Templer, with the Borneo Company. She had never liked the Tuan Muda, and that dislike

¹ A director of the Borneo Company who had supported Captain Brooke and now also made overtures of peace.

was translated into distrust. Mr John Abel Smith did not improve the situation by sending her a letter from the Rajah obviously meant for his eyes alone. Miss Burdett Coutts was by temperament trenchant and forthright. What she felt, that she gave utterance to, in no measured terms. So it was that some rather bitter letters passed between them, the Rajah preserving his equanimity, Miss Burdett Coutts growing more exacerbated as she read his replies, and giving him a taste of what she called "her Arctic manners."

Burrator,

4th January, 1865.

MY DEAR LADY,

I did not intend you to read my letter to Mr J. A. Smith,¹ but as he has sent it to you, I can have no objection to it.

I confess I was greatly moved by your reviving an impression received two years ago, which in my view is so fraught with ill consequences to Sarawak. If you think the Tuan Muda regards you with dislike and mistrust, it *must re-act* upon your mind, and sooner or later bear its fruit! I said all I could say upon the subject, but I knew that my opinion could have no weight, owing to my affection and partiality for the Tuan Muda, and therefore I decided that Mr J. A. Smith could more properly, and more efficaciously bring the subject before you, so as to insure the confidence upon which the government must rest. He could have done freely, what I could not well have done at all: Therefore I mentioned the matter in a hasty letter, intending to recur to it: I hope still he will go over the subject with you, for without confidence in the Tuan Muda there can be no solid foundation of government in Sarawak.

Again in Mr Sewell's case—As you do not want to make money, there could be no objection to your employing the labourers you like best, and indeed the Javanese in many respects, are better suited to your purpose than the Chinese; but to *make it known*, the Chinese are a tabooed race, not to be employed in your undertaking, would be mischievous. I considered, then, that Mr S had been imprudent in talking about it, and sought by *a word* from Mr J. A. Smith, quietly to warn him, and so prevent any embarrassment resulting. This is a very different thing from bringing Mr Sewell face to face with his employer upon information furnished by me, and most certainly I would not have given you the information, which was calculated to make mischief and which still might do so, but for your prudence. I

¹ The letter dated December 29, 1864.

was doing, according to my judgment, the right thing, in the right way, but as Mr J. A. Smith has made you acquainted with my letter, and Mr Read's,¹ we must not let it turn the wrong way.

I hope you will impress upon Mr Sewell, the objects of his mission, i.e. that your desire is to benefit the Dayaks, and that *he has to learn* how this is to be best done;—that improved rice cultivation is clearly the first step, and that *clearings, plantations*, and other such enterprizes, are to be considered only so far as they advance the main objects. I dread a rash and useless outlay. The undertaking at the commencement should be inexpensive, and enlarged only with Mr S's experience, and knowledge of what is required. Were I placed in Mr Sewell's position I should have to learn. I act upon general principles of government, but I am still ignorant of the practical mode of benefitting the Dayaks, and *inducing them* to adopt my views—Farewell.

Yours ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
16th Jan^y, 1865.

MY DEAR LADIES,

Not having heard from you, for a week, I write again, as *I* do not wish to drop our friendly correspondence. I observe that there is something wrong and shall trust to your kindness to tell me what it is, at the proper time. It is a trite saying and true as trite, that no offence should be taken, where no offence is meant, and I cannot perceive, why a divergence of opinion should lead to a personal difference? But you are the best judges upon this point. My course is clear—As I grow old, I would fain live in charity with all men, and would deal tenderly with my relatives, and friends (at variance with me) in private life; but permitting no interference with public affairs.

I am sorry this course does not satisfy you, but when you observe me acting against my worldly interests, you may conclude I am following the dictates of duty. I only wish to do what is right and Who can judge this for me? I do not sit in judgment upon your proceedings, but do you not attribute an infirmity of character to me, and then draw a picture of conduct which no sane man could pursue? Do you not from a presumption, create a misfortune? At any rate you cannot expect me to agree in

¹ The Sarawak Government Agent in Singapore, who wrote the letter which the Rajah had asked Mr Abel Smith to burn.

your estimate of my character. When I do wrong, you may attribute it to me, and tell me of it: But to infer wrong, and treat it as fact, is a mistake!

I ask you to reflect upon this—Complaint is self-contempt, of which I am not guilty, and whilst acting for the best, I leave you to decide, whether you will retain, or abandon my friendship.

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Stratton Street,
January 17, 1865.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

I am not aware that our Correspondence has altered more on my side than on yours. You have recently made all your communications connected with me, both as to occurrences here and to Sarawak, through Mr J. A. Smith. I presumed that the very free expression of my regret and surprise at the warm renewal of intimacy and interest (real or impersonal), with those who had so deeply and publicly sought to injure you, was distasteful to you. I am not aware to what "sacrifice" of "worldly interest" you refer in this matter—affectionate interest, an uncalled for anxiety as to public estimation of your character and the habit of advising in your affairs prompted me to write with an absurd warmth of feeling upon the question. The feeling having passed, you will suffer no further consequence from its expression and as to my opinion as to the inexpediency of what passed, it can be of no importance to you. Conduct, both public and private, must be regulated by our sense of what is right and due to our own dignity. I fully admit your perfect right to judge of what is owing from you to your quarrelsome friends and enemies, with whom (as with your family) you will of course live on such terms as you deem right.

Whilst writing the above Mr J.A.S. has sent me a letter received from you this morning. I cannot comment upon this—nor will I correspond upon points which I feel quite as derogatory to my self-respect as you can have considered the expression of regret at any course of action you thought fit to pursue. Should you come to us as you proposed in February I shall be quite willing to speak on this or any subject you wish, but I will not write more in reference to a matter upon which I have nothing more to say and with which I am *really* not concerned. I have no curiosity towards any of these parties concerned—

apart from your interests—indeed several have shewn an inclination to enter upon civil relations which at your wish and caution I declined. They are, as in future they will be, objects of indifference to me and your connection with all or any such as you consider fitting for the Country you rule and for yourself.

I am

Yours truly,

A. G. BURDETT COUTTS.

Lupton,

Brixham,

18th January, 1865.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I thank you for your letters, for I confess I thought from your previous communications, followed by your silence, that you intended our intercourse should cease; but as you write of my "proposed visit" this cannot be the case and I am rejoiced at it, for the loss of your society would be far more important to me, than any loss on your side. If then you wish to receive my proposed visit, I shall be happy to pay it, and I hope you will be as ready to forget the expressions of my feeling, as I am to forget the warmth which gave rise to them. I may have been over-sensitive, or you may have given some occasion, by your strictures—both may be correct in part, but I would endeavour to spare you pain, and you would not knowingly inflict it, and this is why I have mentioned the matter—your expressions often wound, when you do not mean it, and surely it is better to deal plainly than permit a fester which cannot be healed, because hidden.

Upon the subject itself we shall not agree, but why may we not differ amicably? I know no change in my views or acts towards the Borneo Co, unless the remittal of a claim for rent by the advice and with the full approval of my lawyers, is to be so considered; and my forgiveness of my old friend is real; upon the terms proposed by myself, but with the distinction that he is not to mix in public affairs. This is plain enough upon my side and I can allow for a greater warmth of feeling upon yours. Surely it may rest here? Why should we write, or speak, upon so disagreeable a subject unless you wish it? I owe you a debt of gratitude; which I can never repay; and this fact renders me sensitive, which you should remember in passing opinions upon my conduct. You would not wish me to do what I thought wrong

and this should prevent our dwelling too long upon any question where we differ. We do not stand upon a footing of equality in considering measures relative to Sarawak, for I have a real and vital interest in her affairs, whilst you, as you write, are not really concerned excepting so far as your pleasure dictates. I have ventured to tell you the truth, that your advice, and opinions so strongly expressed, wounded my feelings, and I hope you will spare me this pain without going into the opposite extreme!

I need say no more—and when you come to Torquay, I shall propose a visit.

Your's very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

That seems to me one of the most admirable letters of its kind I have ever read: dignified without being cold, conciliatory without being abject; the letter of one who was philosophic enough to realize the futility of expecting even the closest of friends always to be in agreement with one's actions. It did not, however, change Miss Burdett Coutts's attitude on the points at issue, and quite patently because she saw the Rajah had no intention of deviating from the course he had taken. Miss Burdett Coutts was a masterful woman, and masterful women are irked by those who remain aloof from their advice more particularly when those who remain aloof have been in the habit of taking it. The Rajah was content that they should agree to differ; she was not. She must have felt that she had failed to bring him to her way of thinking; and there is nothing more galling to a dominating woman than that. Although she had the grace not to throw her past generosity in his teeth, she would have been less than human had it not been in her mind, and his letter, so far from conciliating her or enabling her to see his point of view, caused her to write the following to Mrs Brown, who, as is clear from the envelope of the letter, was at Stratton Street while Miss Burdett Coutts was staying at Tunbridge Wells. This letter seems to me to throw a psychological searchlight on the darker places of Miss Burdett Coutts's heart, for—as I see it—it lights up the wounded vanity of a strong woman; and perhaps the bitter jealousy of a proud spirit.

To Mrs Brown

Tunbridge Wells,

22nd January, 1865.

Sir James Brooke seems to me unable to comprehend three points.

1st, Our objection to the B.C. transaction—it *was not* that he gave up the money—but that the whole transaction passed without any reference to the friends with whom he had (up to

that point) uniformly discussed every step taken in his affairs.

2nd, Our objection to the transaction with Mr Templer was *not* that he accepted the retraction of an injury done him by an old friend, but the manner and terms in which this was done—also without any reference to the friends with whom Sir J.B. had acted.

3rd, That Sir J.B. treats as a purely private transaction a renewal of intimacy with a person who had publicly injured him and who, from his position and connection with the B.C., cannot be so considered.

All these suspicions or vague surmises are shared by Mr J.A.S. and I do not quite see *why these* should now be lessened. All the circumstances remain the same. I have no suspicion beyond what *he* felt and had expressed to the Rajah himself. What *I feel decidedly*, is, that the person who *could*—1st receive Mr and Mrs T's advances in the way he has, and 2nd who could write about "the Ladies" to a third person, however intimately acquainted with the whole affair, and 3rd who has completely transferred the concerns of Sarawak from me to another person, has not the disposition and feelings I thought—that is all *I mean*. From this position I cannot move. In it I can act quietly and *kindly*. The Rajah has suddenly put my connection with his affairs *purely public*. As the public Creditor of Sarawak I have a right to know the steps he may take about the Country. This amount of confidence is due to me not from friendship but honour. More than this I shall strictly avoid, and to quote himself, I can "maintain" these interests while preserving a course more compatible with comfort than that prompted by feelings of strong personal interest. He has *freed* us from any private advice or opinion in future. *I have felt* very warmly and keenly lately, but these feelings have really passed upon this subject. My *judgment* is *unaltered* upon the whole affair. I shall act "gently" and discreetly and advisedly and in that way which the obligations Sir J.B. owes us, imposes upon us. English interests remain unaltered—all indeed of a Missionary and philanthropic kind. These will be cared for as before.

Apparently the Ladies decided to let the matter drop, however. The Rajah's next two letters do not refer to it, and early in February he paid his proposed visit to Ehrenburgh Hall, Torquay. There, we may suppose, the strain through which their friendship had passed was soothed, and soon afterwards the Rajah wrote "Your letter is kind, as you ever are."

CHAPTER IX

STATE AND CHURCH

January, 1865—February, 1866

Improvements to Burrator—"Keeping up appearances where there is no one to look"—The Cabinet declines to give Sarawak protection—Miss Burdett Coutts's project for a Moravian Mission—The Rajah appoints Charles Brooke his successor—The United States tries to obtain a cession in Northern Borneo—The Rajah's Introduction to his nephew's book—Miss Burdett Coutts suggests emendations—The Rajah thinks Torquay the best climate in England—The Bishop Colenso controversy—The Rajah contributes to the defence fund—He champions free expression of opinion—Miss Burdett Coutts differs from his views and regrets his appearance in the sheets of a newspaper.

*Maristow,
Roborough,
Devon.*

31st January, 1865.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

Thank you very much for your letter received this morning here and I think though you may be detained in London, you are not likely to leave it earlier than you propose.

I should like to join you from the 10th to the 12 of next month and will fix the day when I return to Burrator. The weather is changeable in every thing but cold—North or South wind makes no difference and whether snow, frost, or rain, still it is icy cold and chilly. Last Friday and Saturday were delightful winter days and Sunday the worst day of this young year. This house is as you guess cold—the party rather agreeable. Mr and Lady St Aubyn—Capt. and Lady Elizabeth Joliffe—the Churstons and some officers from Plymouth, but we are close prisoners and left to find amusement for ourselves. It is not difficult to me as I have retired to my room and have my books.

Fan must be a wonderful ratter but—but is it *quite proper*—quite *comme il faut*—in her position of life? and really that liking for drains is a doubtful taste. Dogs will be dogs, so you must excuse it. Excuse this gossip and the scrawl that records it—but there is little to tell else and my fingers are cold and the pen bad.

Every kind wish for the Missus—you must both take care of yourselves and not go out much at this inclement season.

Ever your's sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
7th February, 1865.

MY DEAR LADY,

Thank you very much for your letter and I am glad to say I am myself again, and shall be with you to dinner at 7 or $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 upon Monday.

The rebuilding of the back and the repair of the front of my house will be a most disagreeable job for I hate being in bricks and mortar, and turned out of house and home, but once over, it will be more comfortable for every body here and *keep up appearances*, where there is nobody to look.

Your's ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Bath,
21st March, 1865.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I heard from Mr J. A. Smith yesterday of the recent decision of the Cabinet to have nothing to do with Sarawak. He hopes this resolve will not last long, but a short time must see the end of this government, and I fear of our expectations from it, but it is possible upon a review of all the circumstances, that without having any thing to do with the country, they might give some kind of guarantee or assurance, upon which we might rely, through the changes of administration, to secure Sarawak from Holland at my death. It would not be much to ask, after the recognition of the government, and my position! I have as you know no *great confidence* in any British government, or I might be tempted to believe, that the interests of England would induce them to this measure. The existence of Sarawak is limited to my poor life, but that I hope is good, for a deliberate consideration of her future—and thanks to her present position, which is your work alone, there is no immediate pressure, or cause of alarm. We may look the future boldly and coolly in the face.

I have been pretty well, though I feel this weather to be trying, and vow I will never pass another winter in England.

Ever your's,
J. BROOKE.

could not in justice interfere, and the old Bishop would be winner, and the Moravian missionaries would squat on the farm minus a flock.”

Now I do not agree with this conclusion, but such a scandal is to be *feared* and averted, if we can manage it. A Moravian mission is not thought of, but a single clergyman of the Church of England would be in a trying position, looked upon with suspicion by the Bishop, and tabooed by his own caste, unless he obeyed the Head of the Church. I fear this would be the case unless the clergyman went solely as the Manager of the farm.

“It (the farm) is becoming a busy-looking place and Sewell and Martin¹ in a day or two will take up their abode on it. A good, practical pounds shillings, and pence, Estate of pepper etc will do more, and tend more to a healthy civilization, than any number of gospel expounders” So adds the Tuan Muda.

A clergyman without clerical duties would be no better, perhaps not so good, as another man, and there can be little prospect of introducing Christianity in the midst of anti-Christian squabbles. I put this before you for consideration, and though I have no doubt we can carry it through successfully, should you decide upon employing a clergyman, or establishing a mission, yet there can be no doubt it will lead to a “grand fight” and you may think it better to postpone any measure in that direction until we can get rid of the head of the offence, i.e. The Bishop. You are aware that there is an *intense jealousy* of your measures both with him, and the S.P.G. I will add no more today.

Your's ever sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I add that the right is so clearly with us, to advance Christianity and prevent a narrow, dog-in-the-Manger monopoly, as to authorize any measure for the purpose. But the wisdom of exciting an anti-Christian opposition is the question.

This letter did not deter Miss Burdett Coutts from corresponding with the Secretary of the Missions of the United Brethren (or Moravians) in London. Among her papers there is a mass of correspondence on the subject of establishing such a mission at Quop. Eventually the project came to nothing because it was the Brethren's custom, before taking any important action “to ascertain the Lord's will by the use of the lot, following the example of the Apostles in Acts i. 23” (as the Secretary explained to

¹ The Assistant Manager.

Miss Burdett Coutts) and when the Brethren had recourse to this method the indications were found to be unfavourable.

The next letter refers to the important fact that the Rajah had decided to make the Tuan Muda his heir. Miss Burdett Coutts had obviously acquiesced in surrendering the prospect of having the Raj left to her on the Rajah's death: it may be that she herself suggested this course, in spite of her dislike of Charles Brooke. Not wishing to injure the prospects of Captain Brooke's only surviving son, Hope, the Rajah authorized the Tuan Muda to adopt him as his successor, if he wished, but this was never done, and the Tuan Muda established his own line, his son Charles Vyner Brooke, the present Rajah, succeeding him.

Warren Villa,
14th June, 1865.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have just got my Sarawak letters and send for your inspection a drawing of the proposed Court House. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the news, and it is most satisfactory, that the question of the Dayak aggression from Sambas is in a fair way to be settled by a Dutch officer and a Sarawak officer meeting on the frontier and having the parties before them. The only bad news is, that *Rainbow* needs considerable repairs, and the Tuan Muda urges upon me the advisability of some other party placing and running another steamer on the line.

The Tuan Muda writes freely of becoming my heir, and seems pleased and gratified at the prospect. All this is, as it should be, and there is a good deal more which I can postpone till we meet. I shall need to make a new will, and therefore must come to Town shortly.

The tone of the letters written upon my natal day, is very gratifying. By the Bye, Tuan Muda says that Mr Sewell will not leave at once, but suggests when he does, that the Consul and himself, might be constituted a Committee of management, and Mr Martin left to carry on the practical details, under their supervision. He adds that Mr R would not be too proud, to receive a hundred or two pr ann. for his trouble.¹

Your interests, he says, could not be in safer hands, as Mr S— is a man of honor. He thinks him inexperienced (as he no doubt must be) and jealous of his authority.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

¹ This arrangement was adopted and thenceforth the Tuan Muda sent Miss Burdett Coutts periodical reports on the progress of the estate.

Bonchurch,

Isle of Wight,

10th August, 1865.

MY DEAR LADY,

Somehow or another I received letters from the Tuan Muda, two days running, and letters from Mr Crookshank at the same time from Sarawak of 2nd June, and from Singapore of 3rd July. He had gone over to superintend the fitting of the engines into the "Heartsease." The chief item of intelligence was the seizure of three of our large trading vessels by a Dutch man-of-war. They were bound to Singapore, had regular papers, and sailed under Sarawak colors. They were taken to Pontianak, a Residency of Holland. Upon receipt of this news Mr. Crookshank was despatched for Pontianak in the S.S. *Rainbow*, and met the Dutch man-of-war Steamer "Appledorn" with two of the captured vessels in tow, bound for Sarawak. The Captain came on board the *Rainbow* to express his regret for the mistake he had made, and so proceeded to Sarawak to deliver up the two vessels—the third, report said, had been run ashore and her valuable cargo taken out of her.

The Tuan Muda had consulted the British Consul, and called his Council to consider the question and it had been resolved to demand satisfaction for the gross insult to the flag, and indemnity from the losses incurred by the seizure. They were not aware of the return of the two vessels, and the Tuan Muda writes that his demand for satisfaction should be couched in courteous terms and a friendly spirit. This act concerns England almost as much as it concerns Sarawak, for these vessels were bound to the Port of Singapore, and British commerce must suffer from any system of intercepting the trade on the high seas. This should be watched, but the particular case I consider the act of a stupid captain, altogether ignorant of native language and people, and probably misled by an interpreter, who knew better, but used him. The interpreter in question, by name "Unus," had lived in Sarawak and been punished there for his roguery.

The matter, I do not doubt, will be amicably arranged by the authorities upon either side, but such an act under any circumstances, warns us of the necessity of *some protection* for our feeble government. A captain of a Netherland man-of-war would not respect the flag of Sarawak, but the Union Jack cantoned in it, would very much change his sentiments! I will write again tomorrow, or next day, but they seem to be getting on well spite of some troubles and the above affair will not be serious,

and in the end may be made of use to strengthen our position. Will you communicate this to Mr J. A. Smith, and believe me,

— Ever sincerely your's,

J. BROOKE.

Towards the end of August the Rajah returned to Burrator after several months' absence, the alterations to the house being nearly completed.

Burrator,
21st August, 1865.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I found your letters upon my arrival here at 10 P.M. upon Saturday. I was pleased to get back, and every thing looks green and pleasant. The house too is a success, looks very well outside, the drawing room is an excellent room, and the new bedrooms comfortable, and with a sunny aspect. By the time it is finished it will be a gentleman's house.

I am glad to hear the announcement of the approaching payment of the yearly instalment of the debt, for I have been *at them* for some mails past on account of the delay, as according to my recollection it should be paid in May.

My foot is a little sore but does not quite disable me—I must not blame Croquet for my own clumsiness. Otherwise I am well and hope you are the same, as the letter books say.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
30th August, 1865.

MY DEAR LADIES,

Upon Monday I received letters from the Tuan Muda and Mr Crookshank, from Sarawak and Singapore. The Tuan Muda writes that the season, what with Cholera, and bad trade, has not been a good one. He has made a demand for \$6000 as compensation for losses incurred from the seizure of our vessels—one of the vessels belonged to the Sultan of Brunai. The sum appears to me very moderate, if we think of the detention and frustration of the voyage, as well as actual loss. The British authority on the spot, and even the government here, should consider the case as an interception of commerce bound to a British port. What is to become of their trade if native vessels, without rhyme or reason, are to be seized on their voyage to Singapore?

Mr Crookshank in his letter of 22nd July writes as follows—
 “The Americans have sent a Consul to Brunai—I was told yesterday that he is empowered to get (if he can) a grant or cession of territory in the North part of Borneo, and form a settlement like Raja Brooke (this was told me by an American). He was going to make Sarawak his head Quarters, or perhaps a Vice Consul would be sent there (like their impudence without consulting the government). The Dutch officials had promised every assistance, and a Vice Consul would be placed at Banjar.”¹

We may receive this *cum grano*, and of course there will be no official representative in Sarawak without the usual exequator from the Government. This will be more power for Mr J. A. Smith’s lever, whenever he returns. I am glad however that he has so long a holiday.

Two months more ought to see my house finished. Our kitchen range and boiler will soon be put in—and this morning I have been ordering a verandah. I wish you could be here to advise about the ornamental in house and grounds. I am resolved however not to be the slave of finery.

I hope you are well—and continue to enjoy the beauties of H.L. without its recent cares—Farewell.

Very sincerely yours,
 J. BROOKE.

The consul whom the United States sent to Brunei was a Mr Moses, who did succeed in buying from the Sultan (for a mere song) certain concessions giving sovereign rights over the north-west of Borneo in the form of leases for ten years renewable. Mr Moses transferred the leases to a syndicate composed of Americans and Chinese in Hong Kong and the Sultan vested the president of the syndicate with sovereign powers, and this gentleman, whose name was Torrey, styled himself Rajah of Marudu and Ambong. The syndicate did actually start trading and planting operations near Kimanis, but the settlement was abandoned for want of capital.²

The following metaphysical reflections written in the Rajah’s hand, but undated, were probably addressed to Mrs Brown about this time.

1—A Truth is not the more valuable from being self evident.

2—A Truth or proposition is self evident because it is easy of comprehension.

3—The assertion that a truth is self evident, does not make it so—Truth taught from childhood may seem self evident to us though not self evident.

¹ In Dutch Borneo.

² *Vide British North Borneo*, pp. 117-19.

4—A self evident Truth can admit of no dispute—The Brahmins assert the Vedas to contain self evident truths—Christians deny this—therefore the Truth is not self evident though it may be truth.

5—“*Grass is green*”—this is a self evident truth to every one with perfect senses. But “There is one God” is not a self evident truth, as history teaches. I consider then that the Apostle “by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God” does not intend that the truth was self evident when declared, but recommended to our conscience upon serious thought—i.e. in the sight of God.

The following letter refers to the preface the Rajah wrote for Charles Brooke’s *Ten Years in Sarawak*, published by Tinsley Brothers in 1866. Apparently Miss Burdett Coutts made some suggestions, for in a subsequent letter the Rajah promised to “further the emendations.”

Burrator,
6th January, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I send the Preface to the Tuan Muda’s book, which I want back as soon as possible, as the Publisher is clamorous for it. I have tried to give a general notion of the government and position, and to make the comments without shewing temper.

How sad that young lady’s untimely end! The sun shines brightly, as though no one could die. Farewell.

Ever sincerely your’s,
J. BROOKE.

The Rajah’s preface is so apt an epitome of his nephew’s work, of the position of Sarawak, and of the Rajah’s outlook at this time, that it is worth quoting:

I have been requested by the publishers to affix a few prefatory remarks to my nephew’s book upon Sarawak, and having read the sheets as they were passing through the press I willingly do so. Its defects I leave others to discover ; I do not coincide in all his opinions, nor do I agree with many of his theories; but the simple and truthful narrative of his adventures as the leader of the wild and numerous Dyak tribes, will interest many readers as it has interested me.

He is looked up to in that country as the chief of all the Sea

Dyaks, and his intimate knowledge of their language, their customs, their feelings, and their habits far exceeds that of any other person. His task has been successfully accomplished, of trampling out the last efforts of the piratical Malayan chiefs, and their supporters amongst the Dyaks of Saribus, and of the other countries he has described. He first gained over a portion of these Dyaks to the cause of order, and then used them as his instruments in the same cause, to restrain their countrymen. The result has been that the coast of Sarawak is as safe to the trader as the coast of England, and that an unarmed man could traverse the country without let or hindrance. It is a gratification to me to acknowledge my nephew's devotion to the cause to which my own life has been devoted. It is well that his strength has come to supply my weakness, and that his energies and his life (if needed) should be given to establish the governorship and promote the happiness of the people of Sarawak. My career draws on to its close, but I have confidence that no consideration will turn him from the work which I shall leave for his hand to do. Did I know him less I should praise him more, and I consult his feelings rather than my own in not pursuing the theme.

I once had a day-dream of advancing the Malayan race by enforcing order and establishing self-government among them; and I dreamed, too, that my native country would derive the benefit of position, influence, and commerce, without the responsibilities from which she shrinks. But the dream ended with the first waking reality, and I found how true it is, that nations are like men; that the young hope more than they fear, and that the old fear more than they hope—that England had ceased to be enterprising, and could not look forward to obtaining great ends by small means, perseveringly applied, and that the dependencies are not now regarded as a field of outlay, to yield abundant national returns, but as a source of wasteful expenditure, to be wholly cut off. The cost ultimately “may verify an old adage, and some day England may wake from her dream of disastrous economy,” as I have awakened from my dream of extended usefulness. I trust the consequences may not be more hurtful to her than they have been to me.

Since this I have found happiness in advancing the happiness of my people, who, whatever may be their faults, have been true to me and mine through good report and evil report, through prosperity and through misfortune.

The principle of the Government of Sarawak is to rule for

the people and with the people, and to teach them the rights of free men under the restraints of government. The majority in the "Council" secures a legal ascendancy for native ideas of what is best for their happiness here and hereafter. The wisdom of the white man cannot become a *hindrance*, and their English ruler must be their friend and guide, or nothing. The citizen of Sarawak has every privilege enjoyed by the citizen of England, and far more personal freedom than is known in a thickly populated country. They are *not* taught industry by being forced to work. They take a part in the government under which they live; they are consulted upon the taxes they pay; and, in short, they are free men.

This is the Government which has struck its roots into the soil for the last quarter of a century, which has triumphed over every danger and difficulty, and which has inspired its people with confidence.

Sarawak has now been recognised as an Independent State by America, by England, and by Italy; and with increasing population, trade, and revenue, she may look forward to maintain her position and extend her influence still further. But to secure permanency, she needs the protection of an enlightened nation, to sustain her effort of self-government; and this protection she could repay by equivalent advantages. Failing this object, the past may become a guide for the future, and enable Sarawak to stand alone for the welfare of her people.

With this brief notice, I leave the Tuan Muda's work to the kindly consideration of the reader.

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,

January 6th, 1866.

Burrator,

11th January, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I wrote to Messrs Tinsley to let the preface read after the words "thickly populated country;" as follows—"they are not taught industry by being forced to labour; they take a part in the government, under which they live; they are consulted upon the taxes, they have to pay; and in short they are free men." This carries the sense forward better to my year, than by a conjunction.

I am detained here today by the heavy snow storm of last night. The snow drifts are in places ten feet and more deep and

I have never seen such a storm during the seven years I have been here. The house stood it bravely. It is now fine and the sun shining. I am apprehensive for the shipping in Torbay, as the gale veered from the W to the E—which is always dangerous for vessels at anchor off Brixham. I trust the Missus is careful of herself for the weather requires it.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

6 Royal Crescent,

Bath,

26th January, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I am glad you like Torquay, so well as to *think even* of remaining untill after Easter, but I believe it really is a pleasanter climate, and locality, than any other in England. I am in no hurry to go to London, but Mr Brooke wishes me to take into consideration his application for a pension, and having asked “pardon and forgiveness” I must do so shortly. I do not want to let him see the slightest indication of haste on my part.

It will be a public question, to be decided when he shall have reconciled himself with the State, by submission and obedience, and after he has withdrawn all the letters he has written upon the subject to foreign governments. I think I have taken a thorough view of the subject—but I hope to be well advised, and to have legal advice upon each step.

I have been pretty well and the “old lady” by the advice of the Docters stuffs me with food and wine, which diet has its drawbacks.

I want to know something about silk culture, and have a desire to see it in France or Italy—a wishy washy desire. Farewell. I hope the Missus is quite well again.

Ever sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

About this time the controversy which had been raging in England and South Africa on the subject of the writings and opinions of John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, rose to a public ferment. Colenso was a liberal-minded and far-seeing man, with views in advance of his time. To-day a Bishop who dissented from the traditional views of the Bible, or combatted the doctrine of eternal punishment, would be unlikely to cause much excitement even in ecclesiastical circles. But Colenso’s case became a public

issue, and his opinions were opposed with a fervour of conviction that equalled his own. The South African bishops, under the Metropolitan of Cape Town, Robert Gray, met in conclave and deposed him in December, 1863. Colenso appealed to the Privy Council, which ruled that the Metropolitan had no authority to interfere with the Bishop of Natal. Bishop Gray retaliated by excommunicating him and consecrating another bishop. His adversaries inhibited him from preaching in England, and the missionary societies withdrew their contributions and support. A testimonial raised in England enabled Colenso to return to Natal, where he devoted the later years of life to his work on Biblical commentary and in translating the Bible into the Zulu language.

The decision of the Privy Council and the public discussion to which the case gave rise, threw the Rajah and Miss Burdett Coutts once more into opposition. The Rajah knew and sympathized with Bishop Colenso; he contributed £5 to his Defence Fund. The letters which follow show the Rajah once more in his character of a modern St George, ever fighting for freedom, whether it might be freedom of action or of thought. "I fight against persecution," he wrote to the Rev. George Cox, "knowing that a man may be put to death in ways more cruel than burning."

6 Royal Crescent,
Bath,
31st January 1866.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I have both your kind letters and am grieved to learn the Missus is suffering, though ever so little. Nothing has passed relative to Mr Brooke or a pension since the letter and reply when he asked my forgiveness. I will take every care, and I look upon these overtures to be hollow and deceptive.

We disagree upon the question of *concealing* our opinions upon religious subjects. If habitually practised as a virtue we should *still be Druids*, if done because of a dominant majority it is an act of cowardice. Many persons of every opinion are wounded and provoked by the expression of views opposed to their own but this is wrong in itself and no good reason for gagging their neighbours. But the fact is, honest men with sincere convictions mostly deem concealment to be sinful, and most of our Christian exemplars both by precept and practice favor this view. In fact I believe the world would be much better, if truth were tested by free expression and people taught to respect the sincere expression of opinion however contrary.

The Church you love so well, in secret, and *never abuse*, began by burning folk for expressing their opinions, and now most Churches would gag those they dare not burn. You, so

devoid of hypocrisy, do you not see the hypocrisy required, to act under such restraint of your tongue and disguise of your real sentiments? It would turn an honest man into a rogue in a month, and would require the suppression of truth, and the suggestion of falsehood to insure success. The T. Muda's expressions of opinion¹ are brief and incidental and will scarcely attract attention. Now to be convinced of the great Virtue of Candour. You to turn Jesuit—Oh! Oh! and to conceal it!! But do be persuaded to tell the Missus. Have you got a mask, for you will need it.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

Bath,
1st February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I forgot in my letter of yesterday, about my being said to be mad. It would be pleasanter did people mind their own business, but I am not pained, or indignant because a few Poll Parrots in society repeat what they hear. I am very much obliged to Miss Newman for her kind intervention in denying a slander. It will not however hurt me, and I hope I am sane enough not to be disquieted by it.

I am indignant at a very unprincipled letter written by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which appears in the Guardian. I say with the Missus "I do not wish to be cautious" on such an occasion of the violation of the highest principles of justice and right coming from a high quarter. I will not write more today as I have a good deal to do. Mark however the important fact, that this letter is written under our own hand, on this first day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty six—at eight hours before meridian, by Shrewsbury Clock.

Ever thine,
J. BROOKE.

Bath,
2nd February, 1866.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

Will you inquire in Stratton Street whether the presentation copy of the T.M.'s book has been sent there, and if not I

¹ In his book.

will write and know why? Or any of your people might ask for it at the publishers—Messrs Tinsley, 18 Catherine Street, Strand.

Upon our *great Controversy* I say that I concur heartily in what you write touching toleration, and the expression of *any opinion* in a manner justly to be considered painful to our neighbours. But the fact of difference, expressed with moderation should not give pain or offence. I consider our Reformers were right in protesting against the errors and abuses of Rome, but wrong, if they condemned the individual for the errors of his opinions, as held by his Church. I do not think it right for a man to conceal his opinions, without weighty and sufficient cause. It is difficult for a candid mind, and apt to lead to systematic deception. If we speak the truth that is in us, without affording just grounds of offence, we should not be deterred for fear of persons who may be offended unreasonably. I think it better to speak boldly, and even strongly, upon proper occasion—but never to intrude particular views, excepting in public, and from the promptings of our moral nature.

I do not know whether you had weighed these reasons, when saying it was better to conceal our opinions but I think it certain that had our reformers done so, the Church of England would not have existed. Reason and Truth must prevail ultimately, and why check the Inquiry after them? And remember that Stanley¹ is held to be unsound in doctrine; and a dangerous teacher by the dominant party in the Church! I think in all toleration that these are just principles to guide our conduct—though they must be modified somewhat, when applied to the female sex.

Farewell. I rejoice that the Missus is well again.

Ever sincerely your's,

J. BROOKE.

Bath,

7th February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

The Tuan Muda's letter upon the whole is satisfactory and the Quop estate now appears to be assuming a definite management. Mr Martin's apprehensions of Mr Sewell's return will soon blow over, and the T.M. clearly thinks him the right man in the right place. You have only to give your

¹ The Dean of Westminster.

directions, and it pleases me to observe that the Tuan Muda will thoroughly carry them out.

I had letters myself which were all of peace, and prosperity. There can be but one course in the Insolvency of the Sarawak Sugar Cy—i.e. to share the assets of the estate equally amongst the Creditors. The government is a creditor for £500, but can claim no priority. The T.M. writes of the flourishing condition of the Cane left in the ground—and the ruin of this undertaking solely from neglect and mismanagement. This is the root of the mischief.

You write of the enemies of the Church, of whom I am not one—but on the contrary I am the friend of the Church as by law established upon the principles of the Reformation. The issue with the Arch Bishop is purely a *legal one* upon the course he has taken, which I hold, as advising the clergy to break the law, and disregard the jurisdiction of the Crown. I have no interest or personal feeling upon the subject and I wish the Archbishop health, honors and long life, but I must raise my voice when I see wrong done. Mind, I do not say he has intentionally erred but the consequences will be the same of propagating such principles. Farewell.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

Bath,
9th February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

This is to say I go tomorrow for a week to 7 King Street, St James's Sq.

I send you too, the communication to the S.P.G. Why should it set its own house afire and propagate the Gospel of Peace by an unholy contention? If they would only bring the Cause before the Queen in Council the truth might be known and the Church be at rest. Stanley, I hope, will take up the cudgels at the S.P.G. meeting against the resolution. In haste,

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

Enclosure.

[For Consideration.]

We the undersigned Members of (Subscribers to) the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, desire to enter our Protest against a proposal which, we are informed, is to be made at the

Meeting of the Society on February 16th or 18th, 1866, to the effect that the Society releases those of the Clergy in the diocese of Natal whose stipends are in part or wholly paid by the Society, from all obedience to the Bishop of the diocese Dr. Colenso.

We consider that such a measure would be a direct contravention of Rule XVIII. of the Society, which provides that all Clergy supported by the Society's grants shall be *ipso facto* under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese in which they may be located. We consider that the proposed measure cannot be adopted until this rule has been repealed or modified, and that a motion for such repeal or modification must precede all other action; and that such a proposal for repeal or alteration ought to be submitted to the general body of its supporters, who would otherwise be left in ignorance of an essential change in the government of the Society.

We consider, also, that the proposed measure is an attempt to decide an important question by irregular means; and, without pledging ourselves to any opinion on the teaching or writings on account of which this proposal is to be brought forward, we are convinced that the present difficulties cannot be solved, and the peace of the Church restored, until the consistency or inconsistency of the writings of the Bishop of Natal with the authorised standards of the Established Church of England has been determined by the proper legal tribunals of this country.

In the event of such a proposal being carried against this our Protest, we may feel it necessary to withdraw our subscriptions from the Society.

The reason for the Rajah taking the stand he did against the Society was because, as Ruler of Sarawak, he considered that the Society's proposed action would give the foreign missions a party and political character which he viewed with distrust, and that the principles announced were both dangerous and subversive of authority. The Rajah had conferred on the Bishop of Labuan the title of Bishop of Sarawak and recognized him as the head of the Anglican Church in Sarawak, but he recognized no territorial jurisdiction. The allegiance of the Bishop of Labuan to the See of Canterbury was a consequence of his personal position as a Bishop of the Crown of England, but the Bishopric of Sarawak, though instituted in full communion with the Church of England, was a free church in a free State.

As well as opposing the action of the Society, the Rajah had felt impelled to write to the Press attacking the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to which he refers, an action which appears to have strangely perturbed Miss Burdett Coutts, who kept among her papers a draft (unsigned) of the following letter she wrote to the Rajah.

Torquay,
February 9, 1866.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

I could not sign the paper you sent me—for several reasons. 1st, I can scarcely be considered a subscriber—I gave a donation some years since, which I could not withdraw. 2nd, I have taken too little part in the management of the Society to justify my interfering at a moment of great embarrassment and difficulty to the Society. Since the interpretation of the Law by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council I feel much doubt whether the Stipends paid by the Society should (strictly) speaking be paid either to Bishops or Clergy—as the Funds were subscribed for objects which this decision has rendered void. I believe many clergymen feel great difficulty in giving their annual Sermons on behalf of the Society on this account. To ask for Subscriptions to support Bishopricks deprived of jurisdiction and over which the Crown has been declared void of control is alien to the original intention of the Society at 79 Pall Mall. The present Declaration of the Law has rendered the Church of England an impossibility except in certain Colonies—but at a moment of great difficulty and under a most unexpected contingency I should feel (except in the case of my own Endowments, in which it is clearly my duty to act) very unwilling to press this now—which would bear hardly upon those who have gone out as Clergymen in the Colonies, little contemplating the position of legal and pecuniary difficulty in which the Declaration of the Judicial Committee of the P. Council has placed all those matters.

My third objection to the paper refers to its 3rd paragraph which *is* I think absurd—after the Privy Council has declared there is no legal tribunal in this Country competent to try the case.

I cannot say how deeply I regret your own appearance in the sheets of a newspaper upon this subject—so injurious to your position as the ruler of a Sovereign State, so inconsistent with all that the friends of Sarawak have striven (how warmly you scarcely appreciate) to secure for her—all of which is still trembling in the Balance. I daresay your letter is very clever and may be very just—but I cannot read it, and with this sole allusion to it which I cannot restrain I let the subject drop.



By permission of S. Burdett-Coutts, Esq.

ANGELA BURDETT COUTTS IN LATER LIFE

Bath,

10th February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

I am on the wing for London but will reply to your kind letter before I start.

I did not expect you to subscribe to the paper I sent, but wished to shew you what was going on. It is clear you could have nothing to do with it.

For myself I appeal for justice that an Englishman should not be condemned publicly, without a trial. The rest is secondary. I should be sorry to compromise Sarawak, but I must not permit Sarawak to compromise me. I know that the people would say Let the Raja do what he thinks right and we will take care of ourselves. I could not keep silence when impelled to speak—it may not be prudent, but it is above prudence. It is natural that ladies should shrink from public controversy—men with a spirit above a Mouse, would think differently.

My own view of the legal question is, That so long as a Bishop holds the Queen's Letters Patent, he belongs to the Church of England as by law established, and is under the Queen's jurisdiction. The Bishop's want of jurisdiction in no way invalidates the power of the Crown and the oath of obedience being *personal*, the Bishop can only be released from it by quitting the Church formally. The question of the endowments I have not considered, but should think they belong either to the established Church under the Queen's jurisdiction or to the donors. Any way, in the Church, or out of it, Dr Gray will I think fare badly. My part is publicly to urge that Justice be done between man and man.

Your's ever sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Love to Mrs B.

Torquay,

February 11, 1866.

MY DEAR RAJAH,¹

As you wish to advise the Society at 79 Pall Mall your position in Sarawak vis a vis to the Bishop of Labuan clearly entitled you to do so, especially if you apprehend danger to your Government from any action of his. Labuan is however a Crown Colony and unaffected by the recent decision of the Privy Council. Your advice also to lay the case before the Courts of Justice or the Crown officers would be under the

¹ Unsigned copy, in Miss Burdett Coutts's hand.

circumstances of the Judicial Committee's decision difficult for the Society to follow. In fact it *is* placed in a position of utmost perplexity—If the *ecclesiastical* authority of the Letters Patent (though void in Law) are still binding ecclesiastically, the Bishop of Natal is subject to and bound to obey the Metropolitan, to whom he has taken an oath of obedience, the Metropolitan Letters Patent having equally with his own derived from the Sovereign. If he does not do this it is not easy to see why those of the inferior clergy who may object to him should be *forced* through the agency of the Society to obey him.

I return your papers. It is to be regretted that it did not occur to yourself or to those you advise with to write in the third person—it seems to me more suitable to the position you assume. Your observation as to my timidity made me smile—cradled in political excitement and controversy its publicity little alarms me. I may have learnt from my Mother's lips how the noblest causes are sometimes lost—and mourned for by those who had them most at heart—through hasty action, and that a Mouse has sometimes untied the knot the lion could not tear. As the tried friend of Sarawak I must hold your appearance in public upon such a mission unfortunate—incompatible with your position and its interests. Your people of course would say let the Rajah do what he thinks right—they have always trusted their interests in your hands. The objects you have at heart, whatever it be, concerns them. That is all I have to say and I am of course sorry—

[Later.]

On reading your letter over I find you say “In the Church or out Dr Gray will fare badly.” I think you are mistaken if all in or out of the Church take your view. *If* that is decided to be justice his supreme authority will be truly asserted. If the Letters patent make him, whether to the advantage of Bishop Gray or Bishop Colenso, Metropolitan—the other Bishops are subject to him. The Sovereign has conferred upon him ecclesiastically the right to settle disputes and decide causes. He is as much Metropolitan as any Bishop is Bishop. The Law has declared the Crown incapable to interfere. It, the Church's Govt. [which] the Crown has called into existence by the exercise of its prerogative, cannot, according to Colonial Law, appeal to the Crown. The Crown has created a free Church and placed its own right of appeal in its Metropolitans in the Colonies. The Crown could not confer legal jurisdiction, nor exercise any, according to the present declaration of the Judicial Committee

but it could and has conferred ecclesiastical dignities and supremacy.

You and Dr Gray and his supporters will join issue I presume upon this power of the Crown. The case has been tried according to the powers vested in the Metropolitan. I hold this to be a most dangerous doctrine and wholly unjust. I think it can hardly be what you wish to advocate but as you only care for justice between man and man you will not care which way it turns out.

7 King Street,
12 February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

Your letter reached me this morning, with Mrs Brown's whose former letter I answered yesterday.

It would be vain to go at any length into this vexed question, but a few of the points I will just touch—The Archbishop has the means of appealing to the P.C. against Dr Colenso's errors (so called) and the case would then be tried fairly. He will not do so—thence the failure of justice.

2nd, A Bishop holding a Diocese by the Letters patent of the Queen, is under her jurisdiction.

3. The Privy Council by its judgment has declared that the Metropolitan had no such jurisdiction as he claimed over the Bishop of Natal, and set aside his proceedings as null and void. Yet he is in the face of this judgment repeating the same acts. Thence I fear he will fare badly. The man who publicly announces that "He cannot consent to submit his sentence to any other body, except the Bishops of the Church" is not far from the penalties of premunire.

4. The Bishop of Natal holds the Queen's letter patent, and is recognized by the Civil power as lawfully appointed by the royal authority. Thence the attempt to depose him is directly an act of contumacy against the Crown.

5. I go *so far in my Protestant view*, that I hold no Bishop as belonging to the Church of England, who is not bound by the 37th article and 36th Canon—and by these, the Church cannot be "in union and full communion with another Church" without the permission of the Queen, as spiritual Head of the Church. I hear from many that Mr FitzJames Stephen is the profoundest ecclesiastical lawyer in the Kingdom and I hear too that the Letters Patent are not voided by the Judgment, and the Queen's jurisdiction untouched.

Upon the personal matter you may believe I had no thought of your *being timid*, so well knowing the contrary, and that you did not hold the same view as myself. I wrote of *men* who did hold my views, being timid—and my letter to S.P.G. referred to the Bishop of Sarawak alone. I do not think there would be much difficulty in the Archbishop finding out from the Crown lawyers, who was “the highest ecclesiastical authority appointed under Her Majesty’s letters patent in Natal.” This was the question I raised—and knowing the highest authority, the Society should obey it. It is always well to look at these questions from different points.

My paper is finished and the Post is going.

Your’s ever sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

7 King Street,
15th February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I received your letters yesterday and today with the M.S. of my letter and Mr Ricketts’s letter from Sarawak. It speaks very well for the chances of success in silk and Indigo.

I was surprized to learn you were thinking of going to Tavistock and if you carry out your intention, I hope some fine day you will drive over and look at Burrator improvements. You will find a fine tree wanting in front of the house—and if you let Sauls know he would have good fires to welcome you. I wish I had been there myself.

The question of the Colonial Church I do not look upon as so intricate, as many do, and when the present clerical ferment subsides I trust it will settle down into the Church of England with the Crown as the Spiritual and temporal Head—and a final appeal to it from the Colonial Courts. I have an opinion from Mr FitzJames Stephen upon it which might interest you. He laughs at the idea of disturbing or depriving the B. of Natal, in any other way than by proving his errors by an Appeal to the P.C.—and this done, he would be *rightly punished*.

Your’s very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

There, apparently, the Rajah and the Ladies were content to leave their differences and the Rajah turned his thoughts to the improvements he was planning for his home.

CHAPTER X

“MY LIFE AGAINST THEIR PROCRASTINATION”

February–November, 1866

The Rajah on the pleasures of country life—His plan to replace the *Rainbow* by another vessel—Miss Burdett Coutts agrees—She makes another attempt to induce the British Government to settle the future of Sarawak—Her appeal to Lord Stanley—The Rajah disturbed that the purchase price of the *Rainbow* has been retained in Singapore—New steamer ordered—The Rajah offers the absolute cession of Sarawak to the British Crown.

Bath,
26th February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

Your letter came yesterday, and I shall have the pleasure of seeing you upon Saturday next. I was troubled by the loss of trees at Burrator, but the eye soon got reconciled to the hiatus and so I hope it may be with you at Holly Lodge. I shall begin papering when I get home and a month or so after that the old rooms will be done up. The pattern of the drawing room, I will bring with me, as Mrs Brown desires, although a small piece will scarcely shew it to advantage.

Farewell.

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Bath,
22nd February, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I should have written sooner, had I not wished to settle my plans for a return to the West country before doing so. I have fixed upon going to Bishopstoke upon the 27th and so on, the 3rd of March to Torquay, if my visit be convenient; and after a few days to Burrator for the final arrangements of my house. I have just purchased the paper for my new drawing room, and bedrooms—very cheerful, and very cheap.

I find the Bath waters decidedly doing me good, and I must manage to have a month of them, without intermission, at a warmer season. I lead the same quiet dull life here, as elsewhere, but the place I am told is very gay and with no end of dinners.

Everybody is on the qui vive about Fenians and Fenianism, and my own impression is they will attempt a landing from America, as the signal for a general rising—50,000 Militia and Volunteers should be held in hand, ready to cross over to Ireland. Let me hear.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
19th March, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

I was glad to hear that dear Mrs Brown was convalescent, spite of the long continued bad weather, and I think you are very wise to stay in your comfortable and warm house till a touch of spring attract you to the delights of Holly Lodge. The new Veranda will be the greatest improvement as permitting exercise with fresh air in such weather as we have lately had.

The cry is still they come with the Fenians—and missing Ireland, Jamaica would be a good place to take as a nice playground for their negro brethren. I look upon the state of affairs as serious—England's imbecile neutrality seems to give a keener edge to the insult, and violence of the United States and the fostering care she bestows upon the Fenian movement must lead us to a war, or worse. Shall we twiddle our thumbs, or form an alliance with the Emperor, and fight?

Upon Wednesday I begin papering, and the carpets, and oil cloths, are already in progress for the new part of the house. My kind regards to Mrs B.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
2nd April, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

The weather is now more favorable and I have been investing in a dogcart small enough for my ponies which will give me increased means of driving abroad.

I heard from Charlie La Touche the other day—He mentioned his engagement and that she was very ladylike and engaging. I am just about to arrange for doing up the old part of my house and in three months to have finished excepting a

portion of the furnishing. I should like to spend a few days with you if you remain after the 10th which is about the time the current will set in for London.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

Bath,
29th April, 1866.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I delayed my answer to your kind letter till the anniversary of the sixty third return of my birthday, and on this day I offer you both my hearty wishes for your health and happiness. I am feeling grateful for the tranquillity I enjoy, and acknowledge that it is to your kindness and friendship I owe it, and prolonged life. I should not have reached my sixty third year but for the dear Missus's and your help and sympathy, and I have only the expression of my sense of it to give in return, with the wish for many happy returns of years for you both.

Poor Lady Eastlake, I sincerely sympathise with her and beg, should you have the opportunity, you will convey it to her. What you write of suffering is quite true. But it is the lot of each and all, in a greater or lesser degree, in different forms, and if it fails to make us better, it leaves us worse. The effect is very seldom lasting on the feelings, but gives a bent to the character to soften or to harden. Adversity is not so good a teacher in my opinion, as Prosperity, upon a generous and gentle nature.

My best wishes for your health during your journey, and safe return in a month.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
15th June, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I know how overwhelmed with business you have been, and therefore I have not been expecting to hear from you, but nevertheless write to tell you the no-news of Burrator. The one piece of intelligence is that the house will be finished this evening, and then the furniture put into it, as far as it goes, and completed by degrees, as circumstances permit.

I shall be delighted to hear when you go to Holly Lodge, for

the rest will be very good for you, and I shall hope then to see you in a satisfactory manner. Upon the 17th July I propose going to Miss Garnier's wedding, and then after a week or so of Croquet, I shall to Town.

I have been interrupted and so break off in haste—I have not been very strong since I came here and after riding two days *very slowly*, I am quite knocked up, from being so out of exercise.

Farewell, and best regards to St John and other friends, who gather around you.

Ever sincerely your's,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,

3rd July, 1866.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

It was really a great kindness to write so long a letter to my solitude, full of all those items of every day occurrences which so many people think not worth knowing, but which make up the sum of our daily life.

You must be careful of that tendency to giddiness or faintness, for it is an indication of exhaustion, and tells you as plainly as in words to go to H.L.—I shall be very pleased to be there too for my house will be furnished and the Roc egg only wanted to hang in the Hall.

I quite agree with you that Solitude is not good for man's mind, but the *one* month of it could hurt no one excepting a fine gentleman upon Town who must for happiness read the "Times" at his Club every morning. For me the Town has no pleasures, and the world of business is past. I like to see my friends, but the Missus and yourself are about the only ones who care to see me, or whom I can see beyond a dinner. Now the country is very different, and I have been accustomed so much to a lonely life, that I feel it less than other people. It is true there are periods when the stale, flat and unprofitable nothingness of life presses upon me in solitude, but then it is worse in the Town, and the talkee talkee of society becomes insupportable. Altogether a quiet life in the country is a good thing, and a busy life in the Town is a good thing too, for those who like it—and the world is a good world rightly used and a man would be a goose who did not make the best of what he could get and pick out the few plumbs in the lump of heavy dough.

I had a sight (as you say) of a very handsome bride but I did not admire her—"for soul was wanting there." The weather

has changed and for the three days past we have had April showers upon July flowers—Summer is *past* too and gone with five days heat and its attendant thunderstorm. Every good wish for the Missus—and say all that is kind to Charlie and W Latouche.

Your's very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
10th July, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

I have heard from Mr Crookshank that the government of Singapore had bought the "Rainbow" for \$18,000, which is over her prime cost, and so we may consider her well sold after rendering invaluable service.

The money realized I had before instructed the Tuan Muda to remit to the Bank and when it arrives you have granted me the rel oan of it, to replace "Rainbow" by another vessel—and Mr C informs me there is not the slightest prospect of any other party running a steamer on the Line. My hope is to have a new vessel, or one as good as new, for the original cost of "Rainbow." My nephew Stuart¹ (your smoking friend) is a passenger by the vessel now expected at Southampton. He had been ill, and his brother sent him home, but when I heard of him from Mr Crookshank, he was robust and "a young giant." I am not sorry to have him home, as it will give him experience.

Today is delicious to sense and feeling. Tomorrow we begin our haymaking. Spite of Mrs Brown I affirm, that a bright sun, kissing too warmly, and a balmy air, are preferable to the bleak howling blast, which blows up the chimney, in winter! I wish she were sitting at my open window to decide.

So villainy is triumphant and Bismark is a Hero!! but even yet if the Villain hero places bounds to his ambition, the end may be good, however hateful the means—if not may France pound his bones to make her bread! and England ought to help, if she had the courage of a mouse, or the feeling of an honest nation. Farewell—Every kind wish for you both.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

P.S. I am gradually getting more life in me. This day week I shall be at Bishopstoke.

¹ Stuart Johnson, the Tuan Muda's brother.

Early in 1865 the Tuan Muda had suggested selling the *Rainbow* and replacing her with another vessel. To this the Rajah had consented, Miss Burdett Coutts having agreed to re-loan the money derived from the purchase-price.

Bishopstoke,
1st September, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

I want to consult you upon the subject of buying a steamer in our present circumstances. The \$18,000 realized by the sale of the *Rainbow* is to be remitted shortly to Coutts's and applied by your permission, towards the purchase of another steamer; but the communication with Sarawak being interrupted the remittance of this money may be delayed longer than I anticipate, and if I wait, may lead to missing a suitable vessel, at a reasonable price. It is important to have a steamer in Sarawak as early as possible, and the plan to do this, (so far as I see) is to forestall the remittance of this money, in the purchase of the vessel, to raise the extra sum (£1,500) wanted, upon her, and to send her off at once! The question is can you let us forestall the arrival of the money, or suggest any way of procuring it, pending its arrival? I am told it might be done by drawing a bill at three months—but this short date cannot be, as I cannot reckon upon the delay. The money is coming, but when? By the outgoing mail I shall address the Manager of Oriental Bank in Singapore (where the T.M. had ordered the money to be deposited) to remit it. I consult you on the subject because I have such confidence in your judgment, that I know you will decide rightly. So I leave it with you, and shall be content either way.

I am very sorry to hear Mrs Brown is so shaken but I trust quiet may restore her, and her journeys should be easy whether by rail or carriage. You will perhaps be better at home—I shall go home upon Friday the 7th. Every kind wish for you both.

Ever sincerely yours,
J. BROOKE.

Miss Burdett Coutts now made yet another attempt to induce the British Government to settle the future of Sarawak during the Rajah's life-time. She did this the more particularly because, although the Rajah had made Charles Brooke his heir, she felt it probable that on the Rajah's death Captain Brooke would go out to Sarawak and claim the succession. The Rajah himself shared her anxiety and there must have been good grounds for it,

since Spenser St John, who knew all the facts, declared: "I myself thought there could be little doubt about the result, and that Captain Brooke would have been received by all, as the natives in general could not understand why he had ceased to be heir to the Rajah."¹

To prevent such a clash Miss Burdett Coutts wrote the following letter to Mr Thomas Fairbairn:

Sept, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had always entertained the hope that whenever the Straits Settlement Bill came before Parliament, the English Government would at the same time enter into a definite consideration of the Sarawak question. That hope, like so many others connected with Raja Brooke's great enterprise, has died out with the Session, and I see no nearer approach made either to receiving this valuable settlement for England, or to placing the Raja's Government in such a state of security and independence, as would render his seeking a foreign protectorate unnecessary.

A very farsighted friend of mine² once said to me—"the English Government is quite alive to the importance of Sarawak to British interests, but as long as Raja Brooke governs it so well and cheaply for them, they will do nothing for him or Sarawak." With the Statesmanship or generosity of such a proceeding I have nothing to do, but with the possible accuracy of this opinion I am in some measure concerned, and as it is possible that some traces of this connexion between Sarawak and myself may exist in the F.O., I think it right to ask you (who have known the circumstances from 1st to last, and are also well acquainted with Lord Stanley) to communicate to him from me my relations with that little State, in the same way as Mr J. A. S. did for me to Earl Russell.

The information I think it important to give to Lord Stanley has reference to the transfer of Sarawak to some foreign Power. In the years '59 or '60 the Raja had no option left him but to seek foreign aid—had it not been for the assistance I then rendered him. The Steamer and Gun-boat he then was enabled to run between Sarawak and Singapore, and with which he protected his rivers, relieved him from the sad necessity of 'conceding,' as Lord S. de Redcliffe phrased it, "to another country those advantages which he had striven and hoped to

¹ *Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 373.

² Mr John Abel Smith.

secure for his own"—and he resolved upon this assistance still to hold the country single-handed. A year or two later Mr B.B's strange outbreak obliged the Raja to leave England, and necessitated alteration and increased attention to his will. He then, as you are aware, asked me if I would accept the Sovereignty of Sarawak in the event of his death before he could consider the steps he should take for the future. I accepted the trust—had I declined, the Raja must have bequeathed the Country and all his rights in it to a foreign power.

Happily Mr Brooke's attempt, or rather wish to supersede his Uncle, proved abortive; but as far as you or I could ever understand the motives of that outbreak, it was prompted by some enquiries instituted by the late Earl of Elgin with a view to the transfer of Sarawak to England,—and the impression has always remained fixed on my mind that altho' Mr Brooke's brother remained faithful to the Raja, that he also was indisposed to a transfer to England—and should he live to succeed the Raja, any such arrangement would be opposed by him, and without it, or without English protection either by treaty or otherwise, Sarawak must fall under foreign dominion.

Of course this must be present ever to the Raja's mind, and though the increasing prosperity of the country, its recognition of independence, and the presence of an English Consul, have made him forego the consideration for the present of its future, still that question must be I think settled in his life-time.

Upon two occasions I think I may say I have been the means of preserving Sarawak for the Raja to English interests, and now the 3rd has arisen, for the original Steamer is worn out and sold. The money I had advanced has been all repaid me—but as without a steamer for intercourse with Singapore, the necessity for foreign protection would become pressing, I have again placed the sum the old steamer fetched at the Raja's disposal, and he is to procure a new steamer. But I think we both feel this must be my last effort,—with the exception of a little money I have invested in a farm there, my relations with this country in whose history I have been so much interested, have now closed. It would not be fair in me to go on like a Will o' the Wisp deluding the Raja with an idea of advancing the interests of his poor people, and deluding myself with the idea I am fostering English interests, whilst in fact I may be only gathering a harvest for the Stranger.

My acquaintance with Lord Stanley is too slight for me to address him personally, and there scarcely seems sufficient

ground for me to send any statement of these transactions in a formal manner. Yet as he holds the position Earl Russell did at the time I communicated with him through Mr J.A.S., I have felt I should like Lord Stanley to be in possession of the same information as his predecessor at the F.O., and in you I seemed to find the medium I wish for. I hope you will kindly think so, and at some convenient moment explain the transactions I here refer to—etc., etc., etc.,

A.G.B.C.

Mr Fairbairn replied as follows:

*Brambridge House,
Winchester,
9 of September, [1866.]*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Many thanks for your admirable and important letter. The Rajah dined here the other evening and I had the benefit of his judgment, confirming my own, that the best plan will be to send your letter on to Lord Stanley saying that I feel its perusal will tell him more accurately than I could, the exact position of affairs and adding that I hope to see him one day this week when I will reclaim your letter and afford him such further information as I am possessed of. I intend strongly to urge the point, that the Rajah is now making his final effort to maintain his government without European support, that your assistance, which has so often saved Sarawak, is now closed, and that if the English Government persist in refusing recognition in some substantial form, they must be prepared to find the Rajah seeking the aid of a foreign power.

Believe me,

Always very truly,

THOMAS FAIRBAIRN.

On seeing Miss Burdett Coutts's letter the Rajah wrote a memorandum to Mr Fairbairn, and later (September 15) sent the following extract from it to Miss Burdett Coutts:

I think Miss Coutts's letter which you shewed me, able, and clearly put—and it may be added to her statement that the aid she afforded strengthened the position of Sarawak, and prolonged her existence. The territory has been extended, order has been further and more firmly established, the revenues have increased.

Piracy has been extinguished, and a steamer gunboat placed on the coast.

Above all the recognition of England, of the United States, and Italy has been given.

This is much but not enough; Sarawak cannot stand alone, and at the latest in every probability her life will end with my own.

Permanency and security require the Protection of a European nation, or something more. As it is, we struggle gallantly, but with the full knowledge that we must succeed in gaining protection, or perish. Now assuming Miss C's information of the motives actuating the policy of our statesmen to be correct, surely the commonest foresight and prudence would dictate a degree of encouragement and support sufficient to secure Sarawak, and advance its development, and certainly no good ever comes from starving man or beast.

I have said enough, and as you know I do not much care to make or meddle more in this world.

Burrator,

10th September, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

The news from Sarawak is *not* good, for the commercial distress was being felt there, and the Tuan Muda had been spending more than he ought to have done upon public improvements, and so obliged to retrench to meet other claims.

Fairbairn shewed me your *admirable* letter upon Sarawak affairs. It was able and clear and supposing what you had heard to be true, as to the motive of action, an ordinary degree of prudence should dictate a measure of support to insure safety. There should be encouragement of my efforts and a drop left of Hope at the bottom of Pandora's box. They risk every thing to save nothing! They are sawing away the branch of the tree upon which they sit or propose sitting hereafter. What you say will come home to Lord Stanley. This matter is not pressing but it is very wise to open it.

What weather! Are you as badly off in the North¹ as we are in the South and West. I trust Mrs Brown is well again.

Your's very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

¹ Miss Burdett Coutts was staying with the Bishop of Ripon.

P.S. After finishing this letter I received yours of the 7th. It is kind of you to point out a mode by which I should be enabled to forestall the remittance, but it is not necessary yet, and I asked only that I might be prepared in the event of a suitable steamer being found. I prefer now to follow your advice, and for myself and Sarawak it will be better to repay the purchase money of the *Rainbow* formally, in the first place, and then according to your permission engage in a new transaction. There is no particular steamer in question; and all that I have done yet is to inquire what steamers are in the market for sale—not one as yet suits our purpose, nor have I decided whether it is to be a new or second vessel. I do not know any party connected with any steamer I have heard of for sale, and certainly in this, or any other matter, I am not acting with any one or maintaining relations of business with any person whatever. There has not yet been time to make the remittance of the purchase money as I only wrote in July, and with the interrupted communication the letter has not long reached Sarawak. The reason mentioned above has I fear delayed the transmission of the £500 to Messrs Farrer.¹ I only guess this—but whatever the cause it shall be remedied if I live to reach Sarawak.

Farewell—I write in haste. Thank Mrs B—— for her welcome home. The weather is not so kind as she is.

Ever thine,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
15th September, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

I hope you have received my reply to your hasty letter addressed to Spring Grove, and the postscript added here, in answer to your letter saying I might anticipate the price of the *Rainbow*, reaching the Strand. I told you (both) of the reason for the delay in sending the £500—I know it will be safe with you, and you will know how deeply I am distressed by the carelessness and ignorance of my nephew and locum tenens. With a revenue ample to meet *all* the expenses of government, and to have a surplus, and with an estimate to guide his outlay, he has taken so one sided a view of its distribution that he has lavished the sums intended to pay liabilities, upon what (he called) improvements. With the best intentions which ignorance can

¹ The instalment of loan repayment which was then due.

have, he has blindly walked into the quagmire of debt, and injured the credit which he ought to have held sacred. He begs me not to be anxious, says retrenchment will put matters straight, and that he should be wiser for the experience. I am not *anxious* about the mere amount of debt injuring the government, but I am anxious at the ignorant want of prudence which holds the helm—you will understand something of my feelings and my determination to put matters right by stringent measures.

I trust you not to mention what I have said and to destroy this letter when read. I love my nephew, but I would not allow him to do wrong, more than another man, with impunity. Yet it is a delicate question, and so to be handled as to make him better, and wiser, and a fitting ruler of Sarawak.

In my early journal I wrote *knowingly* that I was tying myself to the stake—and was it not so? Yet I would do it again, were I free to choose and I knew at first, as I now know, that suffering is the badge of our tribe—The Tribe of Mankind—which leaves the beaten track of life. I have already told you that I consider your letter to Fairbairn able and judicious, and I enclose an extract of a letter I addressed to him, but not with any view of being shewn to Lord S——. If, as you mentioned, they make me work without pay, and are using my sufferings, and success, merely to advance the interests of England I do not hold it to be *fair*; but my course being determined by the good of Sarawak, and not by their neglect, or injustice, it does not much matter, excepting to discover what they intend, and what effect it will have upon Sarawak. Lord Stanley's views will decide this, and your letter from this point of view will be invaluable. I am really weary of dealing with men—statesmen so called—of a low stamp.

I sent Mrs Brown an offer from Blackwood and Gordon to build a steamer—I shall not move until the money be remitted unless they (B & G) wish it and propose suitable arrangements.

I hope I shall see you before long. The weather is somewhat better and gleams of sunshine illumine the rain. Best wishes—
and ever sincerely your's,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,

20th September, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I take a shabby bit of paper for want of other, to thank you for your two letters received. Two days since I sent the

Missus a rough draft of suggestions for a settlement of our question; yesterday I wrote Mr F[airbairn.] I had not time to write it out fair, so may say that the sum of the letter was, that ceding Sarawak, we must have the money to develop the resources of the country efficiently, and that although through your kindness our revenue properly managed was ample for ordinary purposes, it was too stinted to advance the numerous plans, which would safely and surely increase the income. That it was no use starving us and leaving us to struggle as we had done, and after all that had passed formerly, I could feel no confidence if they dealt thus, and that at any rate if they objected to repay the £30,000 due to me, and thus upon the cession of the country refused to assume the position and influence I hold, that the least I could bargain for, was a loan of £10,000. Such was the purport of my letter which F—— will shew you, for though marked "Private" I have begged him to shew it at discretion. I lean to the opinion that if upon feeling the pulse of the members of the Cabinet, we find sufficient encouragement, it would be advisable to bring forward the question at once.

I had written this far when Mrs Brown's kind letter arrived. I do not think there is much to hope or fear yet, but the fact of Lord S—— agreeing with us on the question as to the *importance of Sarawak* is a great thing. I shall come to Town in October as soon as my present visitors leave and before the others come. I am pressed with writing, so Good Byé.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
22nd September, 1866.

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I value your sympathy, and feel so warmly your kindly interest in my affairs, and Sarawak, that I should mourn if you did not bestow them, and I am so accustomed to sympathy and interest from you, that I should not know how to do without them—I am answering a remark in one of your recent letters, and surely there can be no excuse needed for doing what I esteem a kindness.

The extravagance of the Tuan Muda in pushing on the public works in Sarawak, was a mistake and will be embarrassing for a time, but it is not serious as touching the country. My letters will have remedied the stoppage of the communications, by the *Heartsease* running *regularly* to and from Sarawak to Singapore,

and the change of steamers, interrupting the trade, being unavoidable, the merchants will bear it the better, knowing likewise that another vessel will soon be out.

I have been considering whether to go out this year or postpone it till 1868. But I cannot decide till I hear from Sarawak, what is going on, and what the Tuan Muda is doing. It would be kind to let the Tuan Muda retrieve his error of judgment if quite satisfied he has made efficient arrangements to do so. The more I think of Fairbairn's interview with Lord Stanley the more satisfactory I think it, and that so influential a member of the Cabinet, and the *coming* Prime Minister, should entertain the same views with ourselves as to the importance of Sarawak is a great point.

The Missus's letter just come to hand. Thank her and say I will answer it shortly. I must add that Blackwood and Gordon will begin the vessel pending the arrival of the funds if I give the order. She would then start in the early spring. Farewell.

Your's very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
28th September, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

Fairbairn wrote me before he left home in reference to the suggestions I made for the basis of a negociation. He remarks that "If he understand my view right, I only wished the English government to recognize the indebtedness of their new State to me for £30,000 or £50,000." Now I do not understand the exact value of such a recognition, but my view is that they should upon the de facto cession assume my responsibilities by *repaying* what I have spent—repaying in money, not by words. They should not gain a "*new State*" and expect me to bear the pecuniary burden of making it for them. The cession is clearly made for their benefit and my personal interest in Sarawak will cease; the country will continue (for the advantage of England) under its existing rule. Why should I pay for their gain? However there are divers ways of arriving at the result, to be considered. In November I suppose Fairbairn will be back and ready for action.

I trust Mrs Brown is well, and hope to find you in health and spirits, improved by your tour.

Ever sincerely your's,
J. BROOKE.

The correspondence about the *Rainbow* rectifies mistakes made by previous writers on this transaction. Spenser St John, in his books *The Life of Sir James Brooke* and *Rajah Brooke*, stated that the Tuan Muda sold the steamer to pay debts incurred through careless extravagance in carrying out too many public works at a time,¹ while in *A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs* the authors suggest that the Rajah was having a new steamer built before the sale was completed.² Actually, the purchase price of the *Rainbow* was retained by the Sarawak Government's Singapore agents without the knowledge of the Tuan Muda, and, as the foregoing letters have shown, the Rajah did not enter into negotiations for a new steamer until he had consulted Miss Burdett Coutts.

Burrator,
30th September, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

I am at last able to give you an explanation of the \$18,000 the price of the *Rainbow*, which I had directed to be paid to Messrs Coutts—I had long previously sent out instructions to lodge the sum in the Oriental Bank. Mr Read now writes me from Singapore, under date of 30th of August, that the balance against the government had been allowed to accumulate and no remittances made although he had urged it, until it stood at the sum of \$14,464. He (Read) then apprized the government (i.e. through the Treasurer, Mr Houghton) that he proposed to apply the price of the *Rainbow* to cover the sum due to his firm. He writes that had he received instructions to remit the money to Messrs Coutts, he should not have done this, but the Treasurer had received instructions to deposit it in the O.B. and appears to have concealed these instructions from Mr Read and kept the Tuan Muda in ignorance of Mr R's notification that he was about to appropriate the price of the *Rainbow* to pay the government debt.

Mr Read, as I view the matter, only did what as a mercantile man he had a right to do—and thus the debt has been wiped out, in Singapore, at the expense of the debt due in England. The result is, that I am indebted to Messrs Coutts in \$18,000 which when paid, with your permission, I am to reapply to the payment of the new steamer, building by Messrs Blackwood and Gordon. I hope to be able to discharge this debt shortly, say a month, and should any delay occur you must excuse it as being unavoidable.

Comment upon this statement would be premature and painful.

¹ Pp. 372 and 198 respectively.

² P. 302.

The T.M., blaming himself for his carelessness and neglect, adds the consolatory fact, that with strict economy he can save \$2000 a month to pay off the liabilities.

The Tuan Muda's letters as late as the 9 August are favorable and cheering—and the receipt of my letters will restore the monthly communication, and in February next the Steamer will be ready to start.¹ I trust therefore to be able to turn this present confusion, to profit, and to the establishment of a strict system of accounts.

The recall of the Consul does not surprize me. It is the ordinary routine with government to do and undo. I close by saying that I shall be in George Street upon Thursday evening, and hope to see you upon Friday at dinner if you will let me hear you are disengaged. Thank you both for your letters, from Holly Lodge, just received, and ever your's sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Meanwhile the negotiations with the British Foreign Office dragged on. The Rajah did not make matters easier for his friends by holding out for repayment of the money he had sunk in the country, or by making stipulations as to the position the Tuan Muda was to hold if the country were ceded to Great Britain. Neither stipulation was to his discredit, but the following interchange of letters between Spenser St John and Miss Burdett Coutts shows how his friends viewed his attitude.

25 Grove End Road,
St John's Wood,
October 25, 1866.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have not been able to forget the conversation yesterday at breakfast. I still adhere to what I told Mrs Brown that the Rajah is only trying to let his nephew down as easily as possible, but sentimentality must now give way to business—and the Rajah must now clearly understand that this is probably the last chance he will have to settle the question. And the first inquiry must be—Will you sacrifice the country to the vanity of your family or the vanity of your family to the country? And I have myself no doubt of the answer. Whether the British Government take over Sarawak or an Association, their Agent must and will be supreme. If the Rajah do not formally agree to abide by the decision of the British Government, or of the Association, I

¹ She was launched in March, 1867, and named the *Royalist*.

believe all negotiation will end in disappointment, and I shall advise the Rajah not to place his friends in the false position of proposing measures which before hand we feel assured will be rejected. But I repeat the Rajah will, I am sure, submit to the advice of his true friends. Excuse me troubling you on a subject which must be wearisome and with my kind remembrances to Mrs Brown,

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

SPENSER ST JOHN.

Holly Lodge,

October 26th/66.

MY DEAR SIR,

Pray do not misunderstand my expression of regret as to the Conversation which took place at Breakfast here on Tuesday last—I did not intend to express any feeling as to the propriety or non propriety of Mr C. J. Brooke's position, present or future, in Sarawak. In all matters respecting his family or his Country the Rajah of course must know best what he wishes or intends. I said this some years since, or rather I wrote this to Mr Johnson in respect of the older Nephew as I do now of the younger. I wish only that it were possible for me ever to feel that I distinctly understood what his wishes are as long as I continue to hear the subject discussed—failing to understand these, I speak in a way which those I speak to find the Rajah neither supports nor asserts—and both the Rajah and myself are left in a foolish position. It was my regret upon *this point* which I intended to express and not any thing about Mr C. J. Brooke.

[A. G. B. C.]

Brambridge House,

Winchester,

26th October, 1866.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I went away quite subdued after the scolding I got, and found Fairbairn and St John at the Station. At Winchester we found F's omnibus which brought us here quite comfortably. This morning we have had a sitting of our Committee of three, and are entirely agreed that we should approach government with a simple and brief proposal for their adoption. I have just

written down the three terms contained upon one side of a sheet of note paper and when approved of here will send you a copy.

This is really a fine place with a noble avenue and lovely stream. We look for Mr J. A. Smith's arrival today.

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

*Brambridge House,
Winchester,*

Sunday [Oct 28th, 1866].

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

I got your letter this morning and my *joke* was of the very mildest sort and by no means intended to hurt. Your joke in allusion to the "*Harpies*" was never agreeable to me for I cannot bear you to be likened to such creatures, even though you do it yourself. For the correctness or incorrectness of assertions, I need not answer, but I know my friends always act for the best, and mean kindly, and with this knowledge the mere manner signifies nothing.

Our Committee will decide tomorrow what proposals shall be made. We shall be unanimous on the question. Mr J. A. Smith arrived yesterday, having travelled with Lord Henry Lennox who mentioned that government would take strong measures against the Chinese Pirates.

My best wishes for the Missus—and ever your's sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

At the meeting next day the Rajah submitted to the advice of his friends, as the following letter from Mr Fairbairn shows, and gave up all thoughts of regaining his private fortune or securing his own family upon the throne. Perhaps he was never greater than in that moment. It was the last sacrifice he could make for Sarawak, and he made it; nor was he to know that, fortunately for Sarawak (as the future was to show) it was made in vain.

*Brambridge House,
Winchester,*

29th October, 1866.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The Rajah has signed a letter to Mr J. Abel Smith and myself requesting us to see Lord Stanley, and authorizing us to offer to the British Government the absolute cession of

Sarawak. The proposition is now in the simplest form, unaccompanied by stipulation for family positions or crochets of any kind—in fact such that if the Govt desire the possession they can scarcely refuse. The laws and rights of the people are to be respected and the State debt guaranteed or paid—and that is all.

I have written Lord Stanley asking him to see us.

I do most heartily wish that we may succeed this time—and that the problem, so full of interest to us all, may be solved and put to rest.

Yours very truly,
THOMAS FAIRBAIRN.

Mr Fairbairn and Mr John Abel Smith saw Lord Stanley on November 1 and made the offer. According to a letter Mr Abel Smith wrote to Miss Burdett Coutts he seemed "thoroughly in earnest" and convinced them that he "meant to have the territory for England." He asked to have the proposal in writing and promised to submit it at once to the Cabinet.

The Rajah then wrote this letter:

MY LORD,

I have the honour to state to your lordship, for the information of her Majesty's Government, that I am willing to cede the State of Sarawak and all my rights therein to the British Crown. I would merely stipulate—

1. That the religion, laws, and customs of the people be respected.

2. That the State debts, amounting to a sum not exceeding £75,000, be paid or guaranteed. Regarding the interests involved, I venture to urge upon your lordship the importance of an early consideration of this proposition.

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER XI
IN THE SHADOW OF THE VALLEY
December, 1866—March, 1867

The Rajah befriends a brave boy—Is stricken by paralysis for a second time—Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown hurry to Tavistock—Spenser St John keeps them advised of his progress—Complications caused by members of the Rajah's family—The Rajah's slow recovery—His gratitude to Miss Burdett Coutts for her "thousand thoughtful kindnesses"—A protest against vivisection—Lord Derby's Cabinet again declines the cession of Sarawak—Miss Burdett Coutts attempts to interest the Italian Government—Spenser St John's project for an Association to acquire the whole of Northern Borneo.

Plymouth,
13th December, 1866.

MY DEAR LADY,

You will be glad to hear that I have received a letter from the Tuan Muda, who seems fully alive to the position in which he is placed, and has placed me, and he is evidently doing his best to retrieve affairs. He is paying off the debts madly contracted, with vigor—i.e. at the rate of \$2000 a month and as he became aware of the dilemma I should be in, he saved \$5000, and borrowed \$13,000 from the Oriental Bank and remitted the \$18,000 to Coutts to enable me to pay for our new Steamer. Owing to my arrangement here, I have sent back \$9000 and thus left him only \$4000 to pay—and afterwards the other debts, at the *worst*, will not take above six months.

I am really glad he is retrieving his mistake so well, and if we succeed with government the way will be paved for a change. If we do not succeed I must send out a really competent financier to superintend our Exchequer under *my orders*.

Have you any influence with the Humane Society, because I want to get the silver medal for my "brave boy" who at 13 years saved the life of a younger child with risk of his own—such an act, in one so young, deserves some token of approbation, and if you were interested he might get it, or something else—I could send the particulars.

Thank Mrs Brown for her letter which came yesterday. St

John will be leaving me next week. I hope he has derived some benefits but the weather has been against him. I shall miss him.

My best wishes and kind regards.

Ever sincerely your's
J. BROOKE.

The "brave boy" was Samuel Bray, who had saved a child from drowning at Devonport. The Rajah read a description of the rescue in a paper and, ever kind, wrote:

Burrator,
21st of March, 1866.

SAMUEL BRAY,

You are a brave lad if the newspapers speak truth, and I send you a half-sovereign to show you how well I think of you. Write and tell me all about it as you deserve the praise of brave men.

Yours truly,
J. BROOKE.

The Rajah continued to befriend the boy, but it would seem that Miss Burdett Coutts was either unable to secure him the Society's medal or had the matter dashed from her mind by the news, on December 24, that the Rajah had had a second attack of paralysis.

Spenser St John had left him two days previously to spend Christmas in London with his blind father, but on receiving a telegram from Dr Beith, of the Royal Naval Hospital, Plymouth, (the Rajah had first known him as surgeon in the *Dido*) St John hurriedly returned and on the train met Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown, who made Tavistock their headquarters until the crisis was passed.

St John kept Miss Burdett Coutts informed of the Rajah's progress and it is clear from his letters that much anxiety was caused by the attitude of Captain Brooke and the Rajah's sisters, who wished to instal themselves in the house.

Burrator,
Dec. 26, 1866.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Drs Beith and Willis have both telegraphed to Mrs Johnson and Mrs Savage that though the Rajah is decidedly better, he cannot receive any one for a fortnight at least. Dr Beith spoke so strongly to Captain Brooke and Mrs Johnson that he thinks upon receiving the telegram they will leave—After writing the above I was summoned to the Rajah and kept by him, till the arrival of Mrs Savage, when *we had a scene*, but we triumphantly defeated the first invading detachment and I have just seen her and her daughter to their carriage.

Dr Beith behaved very well, was overwhelmed with reproaches, but stood firm, and I think this first defeat will in reality upset all—as Mrs Johnson said, if I am not to see the Rajah, I had better go back.

Dr Beith thinks the case so favorable that there will be no necessity for further advice—he is now convinced that the Rajah's mental faculties will be in no way impaired.

I will attend to all your hints, but I cannot answer at present, as I want to send off the Messenger. Now at 3½ P.M. the Rajah is quietly dozing and going on well—I will try to write my letters to night. The telegram for Borneo will be in time for the next five days at least—as it only goes to Galle, and the China Steamer will not be there for 9 Days.

The Doctors have signed “We earnestly desire that no person beyond his attendants be permitted to see Rajah Sir James Brooke.”

Mr Crookshank is here: there will be no objection to his seeing the Rajah as he has constantly attended the Rajah in his previous illnesses, and Dr Beith has recommended night watching to prevent the slightest danger of relapse. In fact he mentioned Crookshank's name before the Rajah, and his suspicions being excited, it is better to allay them. He greatly helped also in preventing Capt Brooke and Mrs Johnson from coming by introducing them to Dr Beith, whose negative was absolute. Mrs Brown will I am sure excuse my not writing and Believe me,

Sincerely yours,
SPENSER ST JOHN.

The servants are decided to pay no attention to any but my directions.

Burrator,
Horrabridge,
December 27, 1866.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have written to Mr Knox to send the following telegram:

Spenser St John, London,

to

Charles Brooke, Sarawak

to be forwarded from Point de Galle to the care of Messrs A. L. Johnson, Singapore—“Your uncle Brooke has been seriously ill, but is now decidedly better.”¹

¹ The cost of this telegram was £10 17s. od.

I have told him that unless he receives some other suggestion from you to send it immediately.

The Rajah has passed an excellent night and is looking much more like himself.

All day yesterday he was trying to get out a sentence and began over and over again. "I want you—you must"—At last when he saw Mr Crookshank it came out—"I want you and St John to go out to Borneo directly."—On giving him a soothing answer he became quite pacified and soon fell asleep.

We kept watch last night three hours each, and will do so as long as the Drs think it necessary.

I will write to Lord Stanley to-day, enclosing a certificate from Dr Willis—and say that Dr Beith fully concurs and will sign a similar one. Dr Beith promised to come tomorrow, he behaved very well. I whispered in his ear—Be firm—but firm or not Sauls and I had taken our resolution.

With kind regards to Mrs Brown,

Believe me,

Very sincerely your's,

SPENSER ST JOHN.

Stuart actually found his mother and Captain Brooke in the train, coming to Horrabridge, and had much difficulty in spite of Dr Beith's opinion, in inducing them to give up the journey but they sent Mrs Savage. I suspect that finding the house in possession of a friend of the Rajah, they knew their schemes would fail.

Burrator,

Horrabridge.

December 30th, 1866.

DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The Rajah is looking himself again this morning, tho' I have remarked that during the last forty-eight hours he is much quieter and has not attempted to talk, but what he says is perfectly natural in tone. I hope the Dr may come soon that I may give the latest news.

I am quite sure you are right in not seeing the Rajah unless he makes a decided point of it, as it would excite him, and others would then insist on coming I will try and settle it quietly with him. Dr Willis talks of his not being fit to be moved for several weeks, so that we have a lively January and February to look forward to in Burrator. I shall stay as long as possible.

With regard to what I said about Mr S—yesterday—I believe him an honest young fellow, but sent down especially to watch and try and secure everything, so that his family might install themselves here. It is very natural he should do so, though my coming down and the servants looking to me for directions have upset their little plans—he has now quietly subsided, and will simply report—very imperfectly as writing is not his forte.

Lord Stanley's Secretary writes:—"Lord Stanley desires me to return you his thanks for your letter of the 27 Inst. It has given him great pleasure to hear so favorable an account of Sir James Brooke's health and he trusts that his recovery may be complete."

Very sincerely your's,
SPENSER ST JOHN.

Miss Burdett Coutts and Mrs Brown returned to Stratton Street when the Rajah was out of danger, but Spenser St John continued to keep them advised of his progress. These intimate letters, from one who was a practised writer, throw an intimate light on the invalid's life from day to day.

Burrator,
Horrabridge.
January 10, 1867.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

After writing yesterday Dr Willis came in, and said that it certainly was the Rajah's best day. He sat up in his chair several hours, and talked a good deal on public affairs and seemed interested in everything.

He is now sleeping calmly on his couch. Tomorrow Drs Beith and Willis will be here when I will ask them for the detailed report of the case for Sir Thomas Watson. I have already written to Dr Beith on the subject.

The Rajah talks of coming to sit down stairs in the course of a week or two and is quite cheerful on the subject of his ultimate recovery.

I think the Rajah would like some turtle soup; to give him a change I have sent to Plymouth to get some of Liebig's Essence as the broth they manufacture here is very poor stuff and does not please the Rajah at all. I have also sent for some codfish as he enjoyed the sole yesterday very much.

The Rajah is calling for me, so I have only time to thank you for writing to Paris and beg you to give my kind regards to Mrs Brown.

Very sincerely yours,
SPENSER ST JOHN.

Burrator,
Horrabridge,
January 16, 1867.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I will consult Dr Beith about the shampooer tomorrow: every one however who has lived in the East understands it more or less, and we each give the Rajah the occasional benefit of our experience. He does not like it above five minutes at a time.

Galvanism was only used once to try the state of the Rajah's nerves—Dr Beith did not appear inclined to resort to it much at present. No doubt they will be guided by Sir Thomas Watson's opinion.

You omitted the scrap of paper you intended to enclose—but I asked the Rajah if he had any objection to the words of the Song (on the charms of a Cigar) being published and he said directly "not in the slightest degree," and appeared quite pleased at the idea. This means you have full liberty to make any use you please of the Rajah's words.¹

Yesterday for the first time he talked of leaving Burrator, and spoke of it as a place unsuited to an invalid from its position and the great distance it was from his friends—he also objected to keeping it up, on account of the expense, should he make up his mind to leave it. I will again dwell on the subject in a day or two, and if the parson be inclined to take it I will suggest the project to the Rajah. I have mentioned to Mrs Brown his speaking of going to Borneo.

He is very good tempered this morning and very cheerful and

¹ This poem appears in *Views in the Eastern Archipelago*, published in 1847. Mr. J. A. St John, who contributed the letterpress of the book, refers to it as "a light sportive poem, written many years ago by Mr Brooke while he was still in the military service of the East India Company." It is not, it must be confessed, a good poem even if one makes allowances for the youth of the writer. It begins:

How little of joy in this world can we know,
Short moments of pleasure and ages of woe;
But the comfort of comforts, life's Polar star,
Is the vapoury smoke of a fragrant cigar.

certainly speaks more clearly. He gets through a little business without trouble, and is now reading the Times.

Last night he again spoke about Mrs Johnson, and said we were quite right not to allow any one to come at the commencement of his illness, but he appears to think himself well enough now. Kind regards to Mrs Brown and

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

SPENSER ST JOHN.

A night at the St James's would be a pleasant change after a month's look at Dartmoor.

Burrator,

Horrabridge,

January 17, 1867.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have just given the Rajah your note, and left him reading it—he has looked at all his letters this morning and I have read him the Morning Paper.

Sir Thomas Watson's opinion is satisfactory, and it gives one more confidence in his medical attendants. There is no doubt that they both take a warm personal interest in the affair and treat it as the case of a personal friend. Dr Beith was surprised at the improvement in the Rajah's speech, in fact he talked to them for half an hour without any hesitation: as the afternoon advances however he hesitates more.

We keep up the gentle shampooing and movement of the limbs: there is a little muscular resistance which shows that strength remains in the arm. Both last night and this morning he drew my attention to a slight movement in his hand, which I myself could scarcely discern, but he was pleased and said, "There is the first step towards recovery." The Drs have again gently galvanised the limbs this morning, they are both strongly against any attempt at forcing nature, and have always said, that nutritious diet was half the battle.

Mrs Brown has been giving me a little lecture: the effect of the gloomy weather in Piccadilly: here it is all sunshine, and looks as gay as the month of May.

The Rajah is quite himself again, and the little fretfulness of the other day, I put down to Bile, as Dr Willis noticed it in the colour of his eye.

This morning he talked for some time about his proposition

to Government—he is very sanguine indeed, which made me tell him that he must always prepare himself for a less favourable answer—but he is too full of hope to care for such a suggestion.

With kind regards to Mrs Brown,
Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,
SPENSER ST JOHN.

*Burrator,
Horrabridge,
South Devon,
January 18, 1867.*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The Rajah has just sent for me to ask me to write you a line in his name to thank you for your letter and to say that although he cannot yet answer it himself, he still hopes to do so with his proper hand.

I was not to forget to add his thanks both to you and to Mrs Brown for the thousand thoughtful kindnesses which you have shown him.

These are the Rajah's messages and I add no more to this note.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,
SPENSER ST JOHN.

*Burrator,
Horrabridge.
January 19, 1867.*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The system of vivisection is almost too horrible to be believed, and the petition of the medical and scientific professions will certainly have an effect on the Emperor's mind. The Rajah will be only too happy to have his name used, and as for Mr A. C. Crookshank, Mr Stuart Johnson and myself we shall only be too happy to join in any protest. It is incredible that men can patiently and deliberately set to work to torture animals but they seem in delighting in it.

I was very glad to hear Sir William Ferguson's opinion of the Rajah's case, which I read to him; he said—I wish he could tell me how long I shall be in this state.

Directly I have finished writing my notes, I am going up to him to draw up his will—he is impatient for me to come, and

even the Times will hardly keep him quiet till I am ready. But as the sky is looking threatening, I want the post boy to get away early.

I heard this morning from Mrs Savage. She is full of inquiries—particularly if we can spare her some woodcock and snipe!! I am sorry to be obliged to answer that our sportsmen have been out for a week and only found a solitary hare.

I am obliged to bring my note to a close, as I hear the Rajah's bell.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

SPENSER ST JOHN.

Early in February the Rajah had recovered sufficiently to be moved to Miss Burdett Coutts's house at Torquay. Although he made a partial recovery from his attack he never recovered the full use of his hand and his working days were over.

While he was making his slow recovery back to health, Lord Derby's Cabinet considered his offer to cede Sarawak to the Crown and decided against accepting it. As Spenser St John remarked, there was then the cold fit in England about colonial extensions. Lord Stanley was personally in favour of an Association (such as St John had previously suggested) to relieve the Rajah of his pecuniary and political anxieties, but he offered to give Mr Fairbairn a certificate to the effect that the offer of the cession had been made and rejected, which would be a sufficient justification in the eyes of the world if he were to offer Sarawak to another European power.

Miss Burdett Coutts, recognizing that it was more urgent than ever to settle Sarawak's future, turned her thoughts to Italy, and wrote to her friend Sir James Lacaïta, who had friends in the Italian Government.

London,

February 5, /67.

MY DEAR SIR JAMES LACAÏTA,

I send, 1st, 10 photographs; 2nd, specimens of gold—some taken from the Sarawak River and some from another River, the Sakarran. 3rd, I send a little Map of the position of my pepper and Indigo Farm on the *Quop River*—from this place you can go to *Kuching*, the chief Town of Sarawak, by river. 4th, I have drawn up a Memorandum relating in a *crude way* to the formation of a Company and enumerating some of the products of the Country. It occurs to me that the formation of a Co would be feasible and advantageous, whilst the question of cession or of granting a Protectorate must take time for discussion and

for consideration on the part of the Italian Govt, and also because at present and for some time you would have no opportunity of communicating with the Rajah on *these heads*.

I think you would find many in England willing to help on such a Company and you would certainly find many people willing and capable of advising. I *think* in regard to a Company I might be able to put you in communication with persons who would gladly assist such a scheme. The great point will be not to press any plan on hastily nor to risk any huge outlay on it at first. If you follow the Rajah's *own* rule of a slow but steady colonization I should look upon the commercial success as certain and whether your Gvt considered the acquisition or protectorate over the Country desirable or not, the establishment of such commercial relations could not but be advantageous to your Commerce and your Navy, whilst in Sarawak the existence of such a Company would be an unspeakable boon.

I have dwelt more on this point than on any other, because I think the present Company¹ may propose to sell their interests and this might be a point which may have to be decided soon and also because as regards a Company I can better speak for as you know the Rajah at present is quite ignorant of *our* communication, which arose from the curious accident of my meeting you and your enquiring after his health.

I hope I have omitted nothing you would wish named. A steamer runs usually between Sarawak and Singapore and there is a Sarawak Gunboat to protect the Coasts—which however the Pirates avoid; they infest the Chinese Seas and *sometimes* come near Singapore. Of course I would get you information on any point at anytime and *how* can I write to you? Wishing you all prosperity,

I am,

Yrs sincerely,

A. G. B. COUTTS.

Enclosure

On the appointment of a Consul, a Company might be formed—composed either wholly of Italian Capitalists or Italian and English combined—which would develop the produce of the Country. For this object a large capital would not require to be subscribed at first—and some person resident in Sarawak might be appointed at a nominal Salary who might act as agent to the Company, or the agent for the Company might be named

¹ The Borneo Company.

Consul. For the development of Italian commerce a Consul resident in Sarawak would be preferable to one resident in Singapore, but it might be worth consideration whether it would not be best for Italian interests that the Consul General for Italy should be appointed to the European Powers and to the Native States generally under which head Sarawak would rank.

The Produce.

Would be all the Tropical products—Pepper—Indigo—Castor Oil—Sago—Cotton—Coffee—The Woods of Borneo are very beautiful—Gutta Percha abounds in some parts—Silk is found wild and there is doubtless a native Worm with its suitable food, but those which have been introduced recently thrive as also do the Mulberry Trees—The Natives take very kindly to this industry—Palm Oil has been recently introduced with success—The Clays found are also supposed to be valuable for Pottery, and very likely are similar to the fine clays of China.

Coal.

It is known that there are extensive and deep Coal fields in Borneo generally. That found in Sarawak and Labuan has not been considered so good in quality as in other quarters but it is doubtful whether these coal fields have ever been thoroughly or intelligently worked. The Borneo Co Limited works the Coal in *Sarawak proper* and perhaps it may be as well to state here the reasons which appear to make it possible that this Co would give up their privileges for a consideration—The Company *farms* a portion only of the undertakings in which some of the leading persons engaged in it are concerned—these undertakings extend to China, Singapore and the whole of the East—and the State of the money Market here and all the recent events of the mercantile world must have affected their interests and may make them desirous to contract and diminish their expenses. Should this surmise prove correct it would be very desirable that the Company should not be made aware of any *fresh* interest in Sarawak. It would raise their price at once. Of course the Company would not part with valuable privileges without consideration, *but* if it was known other and new parties were deeply interested in the purchase, it would naturally increase their demands. It was with this view that *caution* in any inquiries was recommended, but a land or produce Company might be formed of much commercial importance quite independent of the Minerals though it

might be an additional advantage to secure them, especially the Coal.

When in Florence Sir James Lacaïta had various interviews with the Ministers of the Italian Government. From them he learnt that the formation of a company was likely to be a failure unless preceded by a Protectorate, without which Italian capital would have no confidence; and they thought that the Italian Government might grant a Protectorate on a basis to be arranged. Miss Burdett Coutts found the Rajah willing to accept Italian protection and she encouraged Sir James to proceed with the negotiations. He did so, but when it came to the point, Italy, like England, Belgium and France, declined to assume the responsibility.

Meanwhile Miss Burdett Coutts and Spenser St John continued to turn over in their minds schemes for an Association financed with English capital.

25 Grove End Road,
St John's Wood,
February 18, 1867.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I think it not only fair but advantageous that the Rajah should remain Titular Rajah during his life-time.

I don't however think it fair that the Rajah should be paid his debt, until the debts contracted subsequently are settled—at first he should only draw interest beyond price of steamer.

The arrangement about the Tuan Muda would meet the Rajah's view completely and I think would also be advantageous. His influence for bad, would be nothing, but for good it might be very advantageous and all changes are to be deprecated. *He has no influence whatever over the Europeans*, who would all gladly hail a change in the supreme administration.

I should like to hear your ideas on the scheme.

I believe myself that the Association would be so successful that in a few years they would acquire not only Sarawak, but the whole of the North of Borneo, not by conquest, but by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants, who are now ready, Sultan and all, to submit to Sarawak if pensions were assured to the chiefs.

There are at present but thirteen European officers in the Sarawak Service; in two or three years they would be swamped by the new comers, as ten new officers would find ready employment now, and in all the large districts there ought to be a second, responsible for the accounts and to superintend all the schemes of development. The present men are without much enthusiasm

or hope, as they have but a gloomy prospect before them should nothing be done to take Sarawak out of its present position.

I think it would be a great pity to let the Rajah have much ready money, as he would soon be deprived of it by the artful people who would gather round him—but if he drew £1800 a year interest and his mortgage paid off by the Steamer being paid for by the Association, he would be very comfortably off.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,
SPENSER ST JOHN.

The next letter was the first the Rajah wrote after his illness. It is in his own handwriting, now pathetically shaky, and was obviously written with the greatest difficulty. After this he almost invariably dictated his letters, his secretary usually signing them for him.

[*Torquay,*
March 28th, 1867.]

MY DEAR LADY,

Thank God for safe arrival and still more for safe return.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER XII

ULTIMA DICTA

April, 1867—June, 1868

Miss Burdett Coutts alarmed at Captain Brooke's attempt to instal himself at Burrator—The Ladies visit the Rajah—He moves to Torquay—He leaves Miss Burdett Coutts's house in a "temporary irritation"—Miss Burdett Coutts writes "finale"—The correspondence resumed—The Rajah's last letter—His death on the 11th of June—How the news was received in Sarawak—The Rajah's will—The Sovereignty of Sarawak bequeathed to the Queen in default of his nephews' issue.

*Brambridge House,
Winchester,
26 July, 1867.*

MY DEAR LADIES,

I propose returning to Burrator, now I am pretty well again, and give thanks for the House so handsomely offered to me. In the early autumn I shall return to your house. When do you go to Russia? I cannot bear the idea, and I shall be glad to have the assurance the idea is abandoned.

I am wearied so easily.

Yours truly,
J. BROOKE.

THE Rajah's friends continued to be perturbed by the attentions paid him by his family, for they descended on him at Burrator and once more began to urge Captain Brooke's case. The Rajah himself said when he heard of Captain Brooke's attempt to instal himself at Burrator: "It would have caused me much agitation and agitation to me meant death."

"Had the Rajah taken my advice," wrote Miss Burdett Coutts to Mr Fairbairn on June 15, "and declined all communication with his nephew until the latter had made some public reparation for the insult he offered his uncle the Rajah, he would not now be exposed to the solicitations and harassing conversations I imagine he may be subjected to, and which in his present state might terminate a life, which those nearest and dearest to him, seemed to have combined to make a burden to him. A poor return for his unbounded indulgence and kindness to them."

On July 9, however, the Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak wrote to the Rajah: "I received a satisfactory note from Brooke saying that he had made

up his mind not to interfere with his brother in the Government of Sarawak if you had confirmed him as your successor."

Captain Brooke appears to have kept this resolve. We hear no more of him and he outlived the Rajah only by a few months.

Burrator,
August 10/67.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I never received the letter you describe. I quite scout the idea of not answering such an one. It would be monstrous. I should come over to Torquay unless it suited with your pleasure and convenience, as you are driving about the country, to pay me a visit here when we could talk over many things which are to be talked about. I do not think much letter writing will be required about the Italian business, which is as yet in an incipient stage not requiring my personal interference. I have never seen a better letter than your letter to Lord Stanley which shall be sent as soon as one or two blanks are filled up which Mr Wagner could not decypher.

With love to Mrs Brown,

Yours very sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

I would have written with my own hand, but found it too hard.

Burrator,
August 19th/67.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I am happy to give you an account of my improvement and my complete recovery from an ailing state. A day or two of the doctor set me to rights. And how are you, pray, my dear ladies? Have you recovered from your numerous fatigues and complaints? I hope, yes; and Holly Lodge, too, is it to be pulled down and a new house thrown up in its stead? I fear it may be so, but I am very reluctant for the greenhouse and all the adornments to be lost. And how shall I do without them? May God Bless you and believe me,

Ever yours sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
September 4/67.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I was surprised by your letter and delighted by your announcement of your intention of coming to Tavistock and shall

welcome you with all my heart. I expect the two gentlemen tomorrow but cannot decide finally. They shall be welcome any way.

I have been perhaps too sanguine about the state of my hand which is not so far advanced as I have represented it.

I can give a most happy account however of my general state of health.

The Norway is mine and I can take a ride every fine day.

When you come here I shall meet you at halfway.

Farewell—

Ever yours sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
September 12th/67.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I hope you got home safe and well pleased with your visit. To me it was an unmixed pleasure to see you here, both of you so well, and to shew you my retreat in the summer time. I look forward again to a renewed visit either on your way to Prince Town, or otherwise.

Yrs very sincerely,

JAMES BROOKE.

Soon after the visit of the Ladies the Rajah had an apoplectic attack which caused Dr Beith considerable anxiety for some time, accompanied as it was by long-continued insensibility.

By October 7, however, the Rajah was writing of his recovery.

Burrator,
Oct, 7/67.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I am glad to send you a premature account of my recovery which though not decisive is nevertheless progressing favourably. The side of my body is as relaxed as it was prior to my late illness and I am quite of your opinion that my previous state is now as it was before.

I expect great benefit from your manipulations, but there are difficulties in the way which I must overcome and in the first place is the removal to Torquay.

Now if I was there in small lodgings the difficulty I apprehend till your advent shall make it all smooth, when I should be quite ready to give up the paltry lodgings for the grand one. If you

come down in good time it would suit me agreeably. About a month hence or less I might be in Torquay under care of the doctor and waiting patiently for the removal which brings you there—whilst beforehand I should be quite lost in your grand palace. I write in haste to give you plenty of time and long that it should be so.

The packet of pies arrived safely and were duly announced yesterday. This is a fine day compared to yesterday and there is every wish abroad and at home for you.

Farewell.

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,

October 9/67.

MY DEAR, DEAR LADIES,

What kindness your letter contains and it gives me the opportunity of being happy during the winter. Most welcome will you be to old Burrator and as welcome shall I be to Torquay. Either way will do. The Crookshanks will decide as the time goes on and they will not stop longer than a fortnight. Do you know I find myself harping upon the visit of the harpies.

Farewell and believe me,

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,

October 18, /67.

MY DEAR LADIES,

I have received your letter with perfect equanimity, learning as I do from it that I may expect your company in exchange for my early visit to Torquay. A little perhaps of a pang would supply the pang—and there is not much to prolong the typhus fever which hovers over that fated place by report. I am anxious to hear where you go and how. I sincerely hope that the *harpies* will be here as you have threatened and fully expect them, fearing another letter postponing the visit for a later date. Farewell and

Ever believe me,

my dear *harpies*,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I am certainly stronger and better according to the doctor's report. I dare say he will himself report it as he is here today.

Burrator,
November 14, 1867.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I feel wretchedly unwell and as soon as I get a little better will let you know, so that you may know likewise my movements. I don't know what is the matter with my frame but I hope soon to get about. I am pronounced by the doctor to be a little better.

Farewell.

Ever yours,
J. BROOKE.

On November 18 the Rajah set off to stay with Miss Burdett Coutts at Torquay in better health and spirits than he had been for some time.

During this visit some further difference must have arisen between him and the Ladies. What it was, there is nothing to show. The Rajah speaks only of "a temporary irritation." But it was enough to cause him to leave Miss Burdett Coutts's house and find lodgings in the town, and she, hurt and bewildered by his action, does not seem to have made any allowances for what may well have been nervous touchiness caused by his failing strength.

Torquay,
January, 1868.

I cannot let this day pass without sending you my New Year's greeting, with my warmest wishes for the happiness and well-being of yourself and Mrs Brown and all whom you love. Perhaps you are less able than many others to understand the feelings which made me seek this lodging, but be this as it may I pray you to believe that I have too strong a sense of the friendship you have shewn me, and of the services and kindnesses you have lavished upon me for so many years, to allow a temporary irritation (long since banished) to weaken the feelings of affectionate regard which I entertain towards you and with which I recall the past.

Excuse these expressions, but I feel them no less due to myself than to you. God bless you and Mrs Brown, for whom this letter is intended as well as yourself.

Your sincere friend,
J. BROOKE.

Miss Burdett Coutts appears to have been painfully moved by the Rajah's action; and on the envelope of his letter she wrote "Rajah—Finale—Christmas and New Year 1867-8." Her reply which follows does not

appear to have been a draft or copy; and probably the explanation of its being among her papers is that after the Rajah's death she took from his letters certain private documents she required. There is a note in her handwriting, on one letter to this effect.

*Ehrenberg Hall [Torquay],
January 1st, '68.*

MY DEAR RAJAH,

I am very sorry you have been troubled to write a note upon a subject which has entirely marred all the pleasure, and I may say *pride*, with which I and my poor Darling had looked to welcome with you the return of this Season. I own I am completely incapable of understanding the feelings with which you left my House—but whatever they may have been I must regret the result. You have however done what I presume you felt right and best for your comfort and though *the whole* of the circumstances of the last fortnight are wholly inexplicable to me and have placed me in a painful position, life is too short and too uncertain for me to wish to dwell upon them and as far as we are concerned we have only to reciprocate your kind wishes for our health and welfare.

I write hurriedly and I am not feeling very well and am very tired, so pray excuse any thing hastily or ill expressed—as well as *ill* written—

Believe me,

My dear Rajah,

Yr sincere and affectionate friend,

A. G. BURDETT COUTTS.

After this the Rajah does not seem to have written to Miss Burdett Coutts until March. He was then thinking of going to Paris to see the famous doctor, Nelaton, who had attended both the Emperor and the Prince Imperial; but finally decided that it would be too expensive and consoled himself with the thought that Nelaton, although a wonderful physician, was “better acquainted with French than English constitutions.”

While he was in Torquay, Dr Beith, who had attended him so faithfully, had died, and this cast the Rajah down. Writing to Miss Burdett Coutts on March 29, he said, “I do not wish any more of my friends to die before I do.”

*Burrator,
April 14, 68.*

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I have a letter to write to you in lieu of one to Mrs Brown and I hope that both of you are well. I took into my

head this morning to tell you of my projected attempt to regain the use of my arm under the direction of the doctor. Even a London doctor would do me good with their experience. But it belongs to Dr Willis to undertake the task and the whole operation consists in a protracted rubbing of the affected part like the Paris doctors follow in all such cases. I shall be very proud if I regain even a modicum of strength and activity.

Farewell. Regards to Mrs Brown and remember me,

Yours most sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,

May 7, '68.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

We have had a long continued struggle against easterly wind and once over it has veered to the finer quarter and given us a little sunshine from the south. We seem to *live* during this weather and I have shaken off my ailments. I hope it is as well with you and Mrs Brown and that the east wind has not treated you worse.

We had some races yesterday eight miles distant which the enterprising and active of our party attended. I stayed at home as I had no desire to witness the sight, and enjoyed a beautiful day.

I wish I had something to write about. I see few people. The few who are with me are glad to get away and seldom trouble me except in the evening. My evenings and portions of the day are taken up by my amanuensis. We have just begun a work which promises very highly. It is entitled "Poor Humanity" and follows a suite of works called "No Church," "High Church," "Mattie" and "Owen," all excellent and as good as I hope this is.

I am nearly well again and soon hope to shake off my indisposition.

Farewell. I had looked for a letter by the incoming post and disappointed this time as I have been often before by your silences, as neither Mrs Brown nor yourself seem given to letter writing. What is the matter? Please answer me and comfortably. My doctor has just left me and reports well.

Believe me to be both to Mrs Brown and yourself,

Sincerely ever yours,

J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
May 12, 1868.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

Your letter fully explained the cause of my not getting a letter before, and the contretemps was very stupid in the post office but need not be annoying to Mrs Brown.

I have been fidgeting in consequence of the long delay and fancying all sorts of reasons for the suspension of communication.

I have been pretty well again lately, sometimes bright at others a little depressed, but nothing to speak of. It may be accounted for by the changeable weather.

I am sorry to hear the lamentable account of my nephew Brooke who continues much as usual. *Ill*, very ill, yet not getting better or worse, and I am shocked at the grief of my sister who is terribly downhearted.

You must beg Mrs Brown to write to me as tho' I had been a good boy and had written my last letter properly. Farewell, with kind regards to Mrs Brown,

Yours ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

Burrator,
Horrabridge.
May 20, 1868.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I congratulate you on your beautiful weather and splendid flowers both of which you must enjoy immensely, but I cannot say so much of my own locale the weather here being very showery.

The London season promises to be over soon as the political turmoil continues.

I have been unwell the last few days and I am not much inclined for exertion, and must content myself by saying how delighted I am with hearing such a good account of Mrs Brown. Will you assure her I got her letter and have answered it.

I regret to hear that you have not been quite well, and I must recommend a change to Holly Lodge for you. It is the spot on earth which suits you best. I say farewell with kind regards to Mrs Brown and yourself until better inclined to write.

Yours ever sincerely,
J. BROOKE.

That was the last letter the Rajah wrote the Ladies; the last, at least, found among the Baroness's papers. On June 9 he had his third stroke and the next day Dr Willis telegraphed to Stratton Street:

The Rajah is gradually sinking there is no hope of his recovery.

On the morning of the 11th, just before seven o'clock, the Rajah died, without having spoken or regained consciousness after his seizure. He was buried in Sheepstor churchyard on June 17th, at a spot he himself had chosen, under a great beech tree, but beyond its shade. His coffin was carried by the village men who had loved him; and by some chance the bells chimed before the service instead of tolling. I feel he would have liked that.

The Rajah's family proposed to place the following inscription upon the tomb:

Sacred to the Memory of
Sir James Brooke K.C.B., D.C.L.
Rajah and Founder of
The Settlement¹ of Sarawak
Who departed his life at his residence
Burrator in this Parish the 11th day of June 1868
Aged 65 years

Honoured and esteemed by his Contemporaries, and beloved by his relatives and friends, his name will long live in the annals of his Country, and he will be recollected in remote regions in future ages, though his remains rest in the sequestered church yard of Sheepstor.

This monument is erected as a token of pure reverence and affection by his nephew and successor Charles Brooke, whose life will be devoted as was that of the first Rajah to the advancement and development of Sarawak, and the civilization of its native inhabitants.

Actually that florid eulogy was never perpetrated (the reason is not clear) and the inscription reads thus:

Sacred to the Memory of
Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., D.C.L.
Rajah of Sarawak
Born at Bandel in Bengal
April 29th 1803.
Died at his Residence, Burrator,
in this Parish
June 11th, 1868.

¹ Miss Burdett Coutts wished to have "State" substituted for "Settlement."

I think the Rajah would have liked that better, too.

There is a letter which shows that Miss Burdett Coutts and the other executors had planned to erect a memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey, but although Dean Stanley gave permission to the request no more appears to have been done.

How the news of the Rajah's death was received in Sarawak is described in this letter, from Mr E. I. Martin, the manager of Quop Estate, who was also acting as British Consul to Sarawak.

*Quop Estate,
Sarawak,
August 8th, 1868.*

DEAR MADAM,

On the 25th July last the arrival of the mail put Sarawak in possession of the melancholy tidings of the death of H.H. The Rajah. Your telegram reached the place in an open boat from Singapore but the contents were not made public, and though every one who knew of the arrival of the boat, feared that the Rajah was dead all waited (with a true delicacy of feeling much to be admired) until it should please the Tuan Mudah to impart the tidings he had received.

On the arrival of the mail our worst fears were realised. Immediately on receipt of your kind letter of 20 June, I went up to Government House to offer my condolence and sympathy and at the same time to congratulate the Tuan Mudah on his succession to the Government of Sarawak. Of course everyone else did the same for the great and good man that was gone. I kept my flag half mast until the Saturday—when the Tuan Mudah was publicly proclaimed Rajah of Sarawak, in the Court house in the presence of all Government Servants, the Consul, Clergy and principal Inhabitants of the place, all in full dress.

The Datu Bandar and other native chiefs had decorated the Court House in native style with flags and gayly colored cloths. A Guard of Honour received the Rajah, and after the Proclamation was read a Royal Salute was fired from the Fort. I breakfasted with the Rajah after the ceremony was over, and on the following Monday I gave a déjeuner to the Rajah, at which all were present. I have written a despatch to Lord Stanley informing his Lordship of the succession of the T.M. to this Government, and that the usual proclamation passed off well and quietly amid the evident marks of rejoicing and satisfaction of all classes of the Inhabitants. Every thing has now returned to its usual quiet and were it not for the signs of mourning one would hardly know that any such important change had taken place.

The Rajah keeps very quiet, in fact he is far from well and mourns deeply for his uncle, this will however be got over in time.

I am, dear Madam,
most respectfully,
your obedient Servant,
E. I. MARTIN.

Sarawak,
August 6th, 1868.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

The news of our great loss has reached us, and though near fourteen days have passed it seems to me as a perfect dream. I was proclaimed 7 days after the news arrived, and the natives showed unmistakeable signs of their wish that the system of government organised by Sir James Brooke should continue. The country is perfectly quiet and I do not apprehend any disturbance by the change, in fact I look on it as an impossibility. Please receive my very grateful thanks for the kind letters of condolence which were sent to me. He was and had been my greatest friend on earth and though he has departed bodily, spiritually he will always remain present to me.

H.M. Steamer *Perseus* arrived last evening and saluted our flag this morning—she only remains three or four days.

Again thanking you for your kind letter,

I am,
Yours very faithfully,
C. BROOKE.

Sarawak,
August 2nd [1868].

MY DEAR MRS BROWN,

Pray receive my very sincere and best thanks for the very kind letter you wrote after the death of my very dear Uncle and friend—it was a great blow to us all in Sarawak as we had for so many years looked on him as the one great head to which we all could obtain assistance in time of need—he will never be forgotten in Sarawak and mentally he will always be present to me. I must do my best in the position in which I am now placed and I do not fear, as I have experience in the country and have long possessed the will and earnest desire to advance the interests of the people and country of Sarawak—it becomes now my duty,

tenfold, to attend to this and to carry out what I have long known to have been the one great object of the life of my departed Uncle.

Again sincerely thanking you for yr kind letter of condolence on our great loss—and remembering yr many kindnesses to me both in Paris and England,

I remain,
Yrs sincerely,
C. BROOKE.

By his last will, dated April 15, 1867, the Rajah bequeathed the sovereignty of Sarawak to Charles Brooke and his heirs male, and in default of such issue to Charles's brother, Stuart Johnson, and his heirs. In the event of the line ending with his nephew Stuart he bequeathed the sovereignty to "Her Majesty the Queen of England, her heirs and assigns for ever."

To Charles Brooke he left all his real and personal estate in Borneo and England, requiring him to provide "from the debt due to me from the State of Sarawak," a number of legacies, which included £2000 to Arthur Crookshank, and annuities for his servants at Burrator. He also left £5000 "to my son George Brooke, his wife Eliza Brooke and their children" desiring Charles Brooke to pay the executors yearly "a sufficient sum to raise the income of my son George to £250 a year" until the bequest could be paid.

The existence of this son is not mentioned by any of the Rajah's previous biographers, and there is only one reference to him in any of the Rajah's correspondence that I have seen: in the letter he wrote Miss Burdett Coutts on March 21, 1860, wherein he mentioned that "George" was with him at Burrator.¹ In the earlier will his son was referred to as Reuben George Brooke "at present residing at Walnut Tree House, Levens, near Milnthorpe in the county of Westmoreland," and in that will elaborate directions were given the executors to provide him with an income of £200, payable to the widow and children after his death, together with a further £200 a year payable from the revenues of Sarawak.

The Rajah bequeathed his papers to the care of his old friend Spenser St John, whom he also appointed one of his executors, with Mr Alexander Knox and his solicitor Mr John Gillan Booty. For the Sovereignty of Sarawak clause he made a special appointment of executors—Miss Burdett Coutts, Mr Thomas Fairbairn and Mr John Abel Smith—"to see the purposes aforesaid carried into effect." This appointment stood until 1898 when, her co-executors being dead, the Baroness executed a deed poll appointing as executors her husband Mr William Burdett-Coutts, Sir Spenser St John and Earl Grey.

¹ The identity of this gentleman is obscure. Who his mother was I have not been able to discover, but the official opinion is that he was not actually Brooke's son, but one of those young men he was fond of befriending from time to time.

In a letter Lord Grey wrote to the Baroness on August 7, 1898, accepting her invitation to act, he said, "George Curzon¹ assured me that H.M.'s Govt. would not allow any foreign Govt. to place a finger on any part of the Rajah's territories, even at the request of the Rajah, the Queen having a reversionary interest, but as my experience is that personal *viva voce* assurances, however explicit, are worthless I would suggest that you should write officially to Curzon, and elicit from him an official despatch to the above effect."

Mr Curzon, in reply to a letter from the Baroness, assured her that the dispositions she had made should "prevent any trouble or misunderstanding from taking place in future." The deed was then deposited in the Foreign Office, together with an extract from the Rajah's will and a memorandum setting forth the Baroness's connection with Sarawak. These papers were formally acknowledged by Lord Salisbury and laid before the Queen.

In the following letter Charles Brooke shows his anxiety to discharge the amount due from the Government of Sarawak to Miss Burdett Coutts.

Sarawak,
December 29th, 1868.

MY DEAR MISS COUTTS,

I received your letter on business matters about a fortnight ago, in consequence of being called away on an affair which took place on the Coast I was not at the time able to reply to it. I had previously seen some difficulties regarding our monetary concerns many months ago—and now I find that I am made responsible for a large number of Legacies which I consider morally bound to see carried out—but far more than these, do I consider myself, as the head of the Govt, answerable for the payment of the Govt debt to you. The only point I request is a little time to enable me to do so without over burdening the country—and I hope after the middle of 1869 to be able to give directions to the B.C.L. to pay to the A/c of Messrs Coutts and Co the sum of £1000 per annum—regularly. I trust this arrangement will meet with your wishes.

Messrs Booty and Batt write to tell me you have deferred taking over Burrator till I arrive at home—I had wished to leave this in February but fear I shall not be able to get away before March or April.

Pray present my kind regards to Mrs Brown, and trusting you have had a pleasant Christmas,

Believe me,

Yrs sincerely,

C. BROOKE.

¹ Then Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Towards the end of his life the Rajah told Spenser St John that he was sure his successors would keep Burrator in remembrance of him. He hoped the house would be preserved as a refuge to which officers of the Sarawak Service might come "to recruit in the bracing air of Dartmoor."¹

St John adds, "Alas for the vanity of human wishes!" It would have been well had the Rajah made some expression of his desire in his will. As it was, Charles Brooke felt that he could not afford to keep the house. On his marriage to Miss Margaret de Windt (the present Ranee Margaret of Sarawak) he spent his honeymoon at Burrator—the Ranee refers to it in her book *Good Morning and Good Night*—and later transferred it to Miss Burdett Coutts in exchange for the amount she had advanced the Rajah upon mortgage—£2500. Miss Burdett Coutts was thus well repaid, for although she had received no interest on the mortgage, the Rajah had spent £1500 on improving the property and had paid £2800 for it in the first instance. It was later sold, as I have mentioned, to the Rajah's neighbour, Sir Massey Lopes.

In the course of a few years Charles Brooke was able to clear the State of her obligations; and with the Rajah's death Miss Burdett Coutts's interest in Sarawak seems to have waned, for she sold Quop Estate in 1872, thereby bringing to an end her long and friendly connection with the State.

It may be that, womanlike, her interest was more in the man than in the State. That I will leave readers of these letters to judge for themselves; and those who feel that it was so may perhaps find her the more human for that reason. Whether she loved him or not is a riddle which the letters do not answer; and he had but one love: Sarawak. To me it has always seemed that, owing to the disability I have mentioned, the physical love that he might have given some woman was sublimated into devotion to his people. But of this at least we may be certain: she was more to him than any other woman. For him, as he once told her, home was at Holly Lodge. Not without reason did he call her his "guardian angel;" and he was right when he told her that she had given him the assistance which monarchs and statesmen had refused.

These letters display him in his strength and in his weakness: although his weaknesses were few. Most human beings are inconsistent creatures. The best of us have our streaks of black, and the worst our streaks of white. But the more deeply I study the character of James Brooke the more convinced do I become that he must have been one of the most consistent men who ever lived. As Mr Somerset Maugham once said to me, "The Rajah's character is noble, but his lack of vices makes it hard for a writer to deal with him. He is more like a statue than a man." Even such faults as he had were venial ones. He could be impatient and quick-tempered; even hard; but usually only when the welfare of Sarawak was at stake. He was apt to trust men overmuch, but although he often found his confidence misplaced, he would not have inspired the confidence he did in others, particularly in the Malay and Dayak chiefs, had he not shown trust

¹ *Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 374.



SHEEPSTOR CHURCH

With the Rajah's tomb in the foreground.



BURRATOR

Photos by D. H. A. Nicolson, Esq.



himself. He loved simple things and simple people and all his life he hated hypocrisy and shams. He was a great giver and a great builder, and the good he did, so far from being interred with his bones, lives after him. For James Brooke's true monument is not a granite slab in the quiet churchyard of Sheepstor but the country which lives and prospers under the rule of the third of his line to-day.

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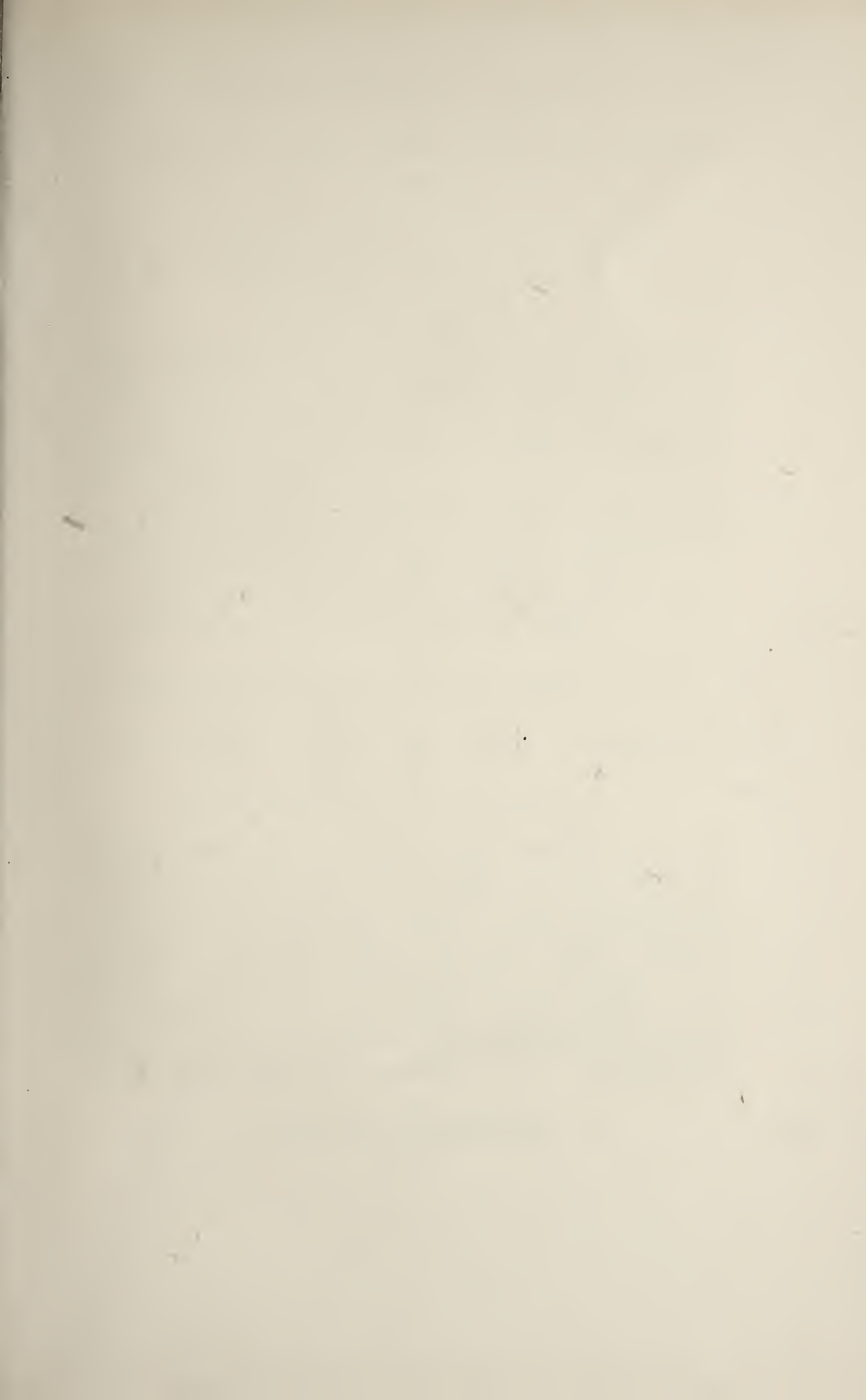
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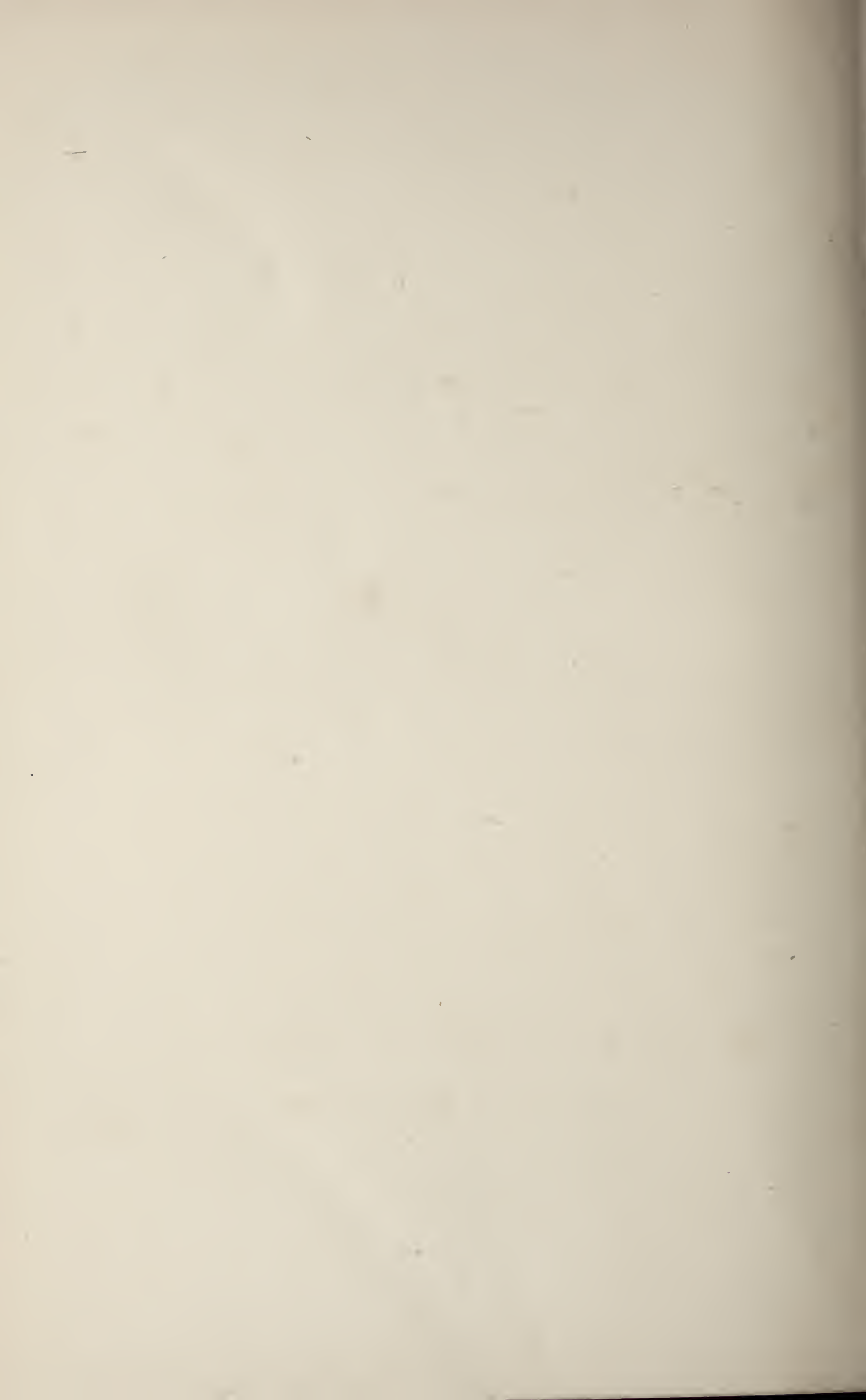
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